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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

HOME DEPT

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ROMAN EMPIRE.

13370

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.



TWELVE VOLUMES.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

Death of Honorius—Valentinian III. emperor of the East—Administration of his mother Placidia—Eius and Boniface—Conquest of Africa by the Vandals.

DURING a long and disgraceful reign of twenty-eight years, Honorius, emperor of the West, was separated from the friendship of his brother, and afterwards of his nephew, who reigned over the East; and Constantinople beheld, with apparent indifference and secret joy, the calamities of Rome. The strange adventures of Placidia^a gradually renewed, and cemented, the alliance of the two empires. The daughter

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LAST years
and death
of Honorius.
A.D.
408, 409.

^a See vol. v. p. 322-343.

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of the great Theodosius had been the captive, and the queen, of the Goths; she lost an affectionate husband; she was dragged in chains by his insulting monster; she tasted the pleasure of revenge, and was exchanged, in the treaty of peace, for six hundred thousand measures of wheat. After her return from Spain to Italy, Placidia experienced a new persecution in the bosom of her family. She was averse to a marriage, which had been stipulated without her consent; and the brave Constantius, as a noble reward for the tyrants whom he had vanquished, received, from the hand of Honorius himself, the struggling and reluctant hand of the widow of Adolphus. But her resistance ended with the ceremony of the nuptials; nor did Placidia refuse to become the mother of Honorius and Valentinian III, or to assume and exercise an absolute dominion over the mind of her grateful husband. The generous soldier, whose time had hitherto been divided between social pleasure and military service, was taught new lessons of avarice and ambition: he extorted the title of Augustus; and the servant of Honorius was associated to the empire of the West. The death of Constantius, in the seventh month of his reign, instead of diminishing, seemed to increase, the power of Placidia; and the insolent familiarity^a of her

^a To reach even this degree of insolence, it is necessary to suppose that Placidia, being Theodosius's wife, was, perhaps, no daughter, but a sister-in-law, which situation is implied in the daughter Placidia. Amalasy, says the prophet Amalasy, quodammodo, subit, subit dominum.

brother, which might be no more than the symptoms of a childish affection, were universally attributed to incestuous love. On a sudden, by some base intrigues of a steward and a nurse, this excessive fondness was converted into an irreconcilable quarrel: the debates of the emperor and his sister were not long confined within the walls of the palace; and as the Gothic soldiers adhered to their queen, the city of Ravenna was agitated with bloody and dangerous tumults, which could only be appeased by the forced or voluntary retreat of Placidia and her children. The royal exiles landed at Constantinople, soon after the marriage of Theodosius, during the festival of the Persian victories. They were treated with kindness and magnificence; but as the statue of the emperor Constantius had been rejected by the eastern court, the title of Augusta could not decently be allowed to his widow. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia, a swift messenger announced the death of Honorius, the consequence of a dropsy; but the important secret was not divulged, till the necessary orders had been dispatched for the march of a large body of troops to the sea-coast of Dalmatia. The shops and the gates of Constantinople remained shut during seven days; and the loss of a foreign prince, who could neither be esteemed nor re-

Placidia, under even the deepest indignation, was not so far from maternal indulgence as to be jealous and revengeful; and the mourning has been recommended to the public by the Reverend Father Mabius, in his *Veneris and Confutatio* of the *Seren.* tom. ii. p. 22.

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Elevation
and fall of
the empire
of John.
A. D. 423.
424.

greeted, was celebrated with loud and affected demonstrations of the public grief.

While the ministers of Constantinople deliberated, the vacant throne of Honorius was usurped by the ambition of a stranger. The name of the rebel was John: he filled the confidential office of *Primicerius*, or principal secretary; and history has attributed to his character more virtues than can easily be reconciled with the violation of the most sacred duty. Flattered by the submission of Italy, and the hope of an alliance with the Huns, John presumed to insult, by an embassy, the majesty of the eastern emperor; but when he understood that his agents had been banished, imprisoned, and at length chased away with deserved ignominy, John prepared to assert, by arms, the injustice of his claims. In such a cause, the grandson of the great Theodosius should have marched in person: but the young emperor was easily diverted, by his physicians, from so rash and hazardous a design; and the conduct of the Italian expedition was prudently intrusted to Arinbarius, and his son Aspar, who had already signalized their valour against the Persians. It was resolved, that Arinbarius should embark with the infantry; whilst Aspar, at the head of the cavalry, conducted Placidia, and her son Valentinian, along the sea-coast of the Hæmætic. The march of the cavalry was performed with such active diligence, that they surprised, without resistance, the important city of Aquileia; when the hopes of Aspar were unexpectedly con-

founded by the intelligence, that a storm had dispersed the imperial fleet: and that his father, with only two galleys, was taken and carried a prisoner into the port of Ravenna. Yet this incident, unfortunate as it might seem, facilitated the conquest of Italy. Ardaburius employed, or abused, the concituous freedom which he was permitted to enjoy, to revive among the troops a sense of loyalty and gratitude; and, as soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, he invited, by private messages, and pressed the approach of, Aspar. A shepherd, whom the popular credulity transformed into an angel, guided the eastern cavalry, by a secret, and, it was thought, an impassable road, through the marshes of the Po: the gates of Ravenna, after a short struggle, were thrown open; and the defenceless tyrant was delivered to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the conquerors. His right hand was first cut off; and, after he had been exposed, mounted on an ass, to the public derision, John was beheaded in the circus of Aquileia. The emperor Theodosius, when he received the news of the victory, interrupted the horse-race; and singing, as he marched through the streets, a suitable psalm, conducted his people from that hippodrome to the church, where he spent the remainder of the day in grateful devotion.*

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* For these particulars of the eastern empire, consult Hieronymus, *Epist. Plot.* p. 192, 193, 196, 197, 206; *Quintus* l. 14, c. 22; *Sozomen* l. vii, c. 24; *Philostorgius* l. vi, c. 13, 11, and *Gregory*, *Diastol.* p. 445; *Prosop.* de *Ant. Ysaac* l. i, c. 2, p. 192, 193; *Theophanes*, or *Chronograph.* p. 72, 73, and *de Constantin.*

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Valen-
tine III.
emperor
of the
West.
A. D. 425.
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In a monarchy, which, according to various precedents, might be considered as elective, or hereditary, or patrimonial, it was impossible that the intricate claims of female and collateral succession should be clearly defined; and Theodosius, by the right of consanguinity or conquest, might have reigned the sole legitimate emperor of the Romans. For a moment, perhaps, his eyes were dazzled by the prospect of unbounded sway; but his indolent temper gradually acquiesced in the dictates of sound policy. He contented himself with the possession of the East; and wisely relinquished the laborious task of waging a distant and doubtful war against the Barbarians beyond the Alps; or of securing the obedience of the Italians and Africans, whose minds were afflicted by the irreconcilable difference of language and interest. Instead of listening to the voice of ambition, Theodosius resolved to imitate the moderation of his grandfather, and to seat his cousin Valentinian on the throne of the West. The royal infant was distinguished at Constantinople by the title of *Nobilissimus*; he was promoted, before his departure from Thessalonica, to the rank and dignity of *Cæsar*; and, after the conquest of Italy, the patrician Helion, by the authority of Theodosius, and in the presence of the senate, installed Valen-

* See *Chronica de Justo Imperatore*, c. 14, p. 7. He has, indeed, many, amongst us, been a constant victim of jealousy, even the subtle and dissolute modes of court management, which have been introduced by him as well as by those of his predecessors.

sinian III by the name of Augustus, and solemnly invested him with the diadem, and the imperial purple.* By the agreement of the three females who governed the Roman world, the son of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius and Athenais; and, as soon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honourable alliance was faithfully accomplished. At the same time, as a compensation, perhaps, for the expence of the war, the Western Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions, and yielded to the throne of Constantinople.† The emperor of the East acquired the useful dominion of the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous sovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum, which had been filled and ravaged above twenty years, by a promiscuous crowd of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and *Bavarians*. Theodosius and Valentinian continued to respect the obligations of their public and domestic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally dissolved. By a positive declaration, the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar authority; unless he should think proper to communicate them, subscribed with his own

* The original writers are not agreed how Marcellus, Augustus's son, lost his life. Theodoret Valentinian removed the imperial palace at Rome to Ravenna. Zosimus's account, I am willing to believe, they were engaged was the cause of the event.

† The Treaty by which Huns, the Treveri, &c. obtained from the emperor, has established the treaty, regulated the borders, and traced the consequences of this remarkable union.

CHAP. hand, for the approbation of his independent col-
 XXXIII. league.*

Admiration
 of her wisdom
 Placidia,
 A. D. 402.
 403.

Valentinian, when he received the title of Augustus, was no more than six years of age; and his long minority was intrusted to the guardian care of a mother, who might assert a female claim to the succession of the western empire. Placidia envied, but she could not equal the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of Theodosius; the elegant graces of Eudocia, the wise and successful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising; she reigned twenty-five years, in the name of her son; and the character of that unworthy emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion, that Placidia had corrupted his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit. Amidst the decay of military spirit, her armies were commanded

But two
 emperors,
 Honor and
 Valentinian.

* See the last News of Theodosius, by which he parted his empire with Valentinian (A. D. 400) the Theodosian Code. About fifty years before that time, the study of legislation had been pursued by an academy. The laws, which were submitted to the eyes of Agathias and Cassiodorus, produced a law of the East to justify their occupation. The principal officers (Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. viii. leg. 12), and the emperor was obliged to submit to a special select, the laws, upon which were previous laws themselves. Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. C. leg. 12.

* Cassiodorus (Variae, l. ii. capit. i. p. 125) has compared the ingratitude of Placidia and Amalasontha. He arranges the weakness of the mother of Valentinian, and prays the virtues of his predecessor. In this arrangement, however, seems to have spoken the language of truth.

by two generals, *Ælius*¹ and *Boniface*,² who may be deservedly named as the last of the Romans. Their union might have supported a sinking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The invasion and defeat of *Attila* have immortalized the name of *Ælius*; and through time has thrown a shade over the exploits of his rival, the defence of *Marsilles*, and the deliverance of Africa, attest the military talents of Count *Boniface*. In the field of battle, in partial encounters, in single combats, he was still the terror of the *Barbarians*; the clergy, and particularly his friend *Augustin*, were edified by the Christian piety, which had once tempted him to retire from the world; the people applauded his spotless integrity, the army dreaded his equal and inexorable justice, which may be displayed in a very singular example. A peasant, who complained of the criminal intimacy between his wife and a Gothic soldier, was directed to attend his tribunal the following day: in the evening the count, who had dili-

¹ *Philostorgius*, l. vii. c. 32. and *Isidore's* *Historia*, p. 482. 483. and *Boniface's* *Epistolæ*, apud *Gregor. Turon.* l. vi. c. 3. in *Mon. A.* p. 327. The father of *Ælius* was *Constantinus*, an illustrious officer of the government of *Septim*, and master-general of the militia of his mother's land, a rich and noble Italian. From his mother's family *Ælius*, as a soldier and a husband, had contracted with the *Goths* a feud.

² For the character of *Boniface*, see *Isidore's* *Historia*, apud *Phil.* p. 484. and *Augustin*, apud *Ysidor.* *Monasterii* *Historia*, l. vi. c. 3. p. 327-328. 329. The count of *Wey*, in length displayed the fall of his friends who, after a season's war of plunders, had married a new lord wife of the *Attila* and had the satisfaction of keeping words of complaisance in his ears.

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generally informed himself of the time and place of the assassination, mounted his horse, rode ten miles into the country, surprised the guilty couple, punished the soldier with instant death, and silenced the complaints of the husband, by presenting him, the next morning, with the head of the adulterer. The abilities of Ætius and Boniface might have been usefully employed against the public enemies, in separate and important commands; but the experience of their past conduct should have decided the real favour and confidence of the empress Placidia. In the melancholy season of her exile and distress, Boniface alone had maintained her cause with unshaken fidelity; and the troops and treasures of Africa had essentially contributed to extinguish the rebellion. For some rebellion had been supported by the zeal and activity of Ætius, who brought an army of sixty thousand Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy, for the service of the usurper. The premature death of John compelled him to accept an advantageous treaty; but he still continued the subject and the soldier of Valentinian, to entertain a secret, perhaps a treasonable, correspondence with his barbarian allies, whose retreat had been purchased by liberal gifts, and many liberal promises. But Ætius possessed an advantage of singular moment in a female reign: he was present; he besieged, with artful and assiduous flattery, the palace of Ravenna; disguised his dark designs with the mask of loyalty and friendship; and at length

deceived both his mistress and his absent rival, by a subtle conspiracy, which a weak woman, and a brave man, could not easily suspect. He secretly persuaded Placidia to recall Boniface from the government of Africa; he secretly advised Mandac to disobey the imperial summons to the aid, he represented the one as a sentence of death; to the other, he stated the refusal as a signal of revolt; and when the credulous and unsuspecting count had armed the province in his defence, Ætius applauded his sagacity in foreseeing the rebellion, which his own perfidy had excited. A temperate inquiry into the real motives of Boniface, would have restored a faithful servant to his duty and to the republic; but the arts of Ætius still continued to betray and to inflame, and the count was urged, by persecution, to embrace the most desperate councils. The success with which he eluded or repelled the first attacks, could not inspire a vain confidence, that, at the head of some loose, disorderly Africans, he should be able to withstand the regular forces of the West, commanded by a rival, whose military character it was impossible for him to dispute. After some hesitation, the last struggles of prudence and loyalty, Boniface despatched a trusty friend to the court, or rather to the camp, of Gonderic, king of the Vandals, with the pro-

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LIFE AND
DEATH OF
BONIFACE
IN AFRICA.
A. D. 472.

¹ *Thompson de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. §. 1.* *Thompson* writes the name of Ætius, the brother of Honorius, and the son of Aspar. This mistake, which is supported by some collateral authority, I first saw in *Stat. Peruv. Vandal. p. 481. 482.* seems agreeable to the position of several text-books, which, and which he certainly received by the reputation of Boniface.

CHAP. point of a strict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement.

After the retreat of the Goths, the authority of Honorius had obtained a precarious establishment in Spain; except only in the province of Galicia, where the Suevi and the Vandals had fortified their camps, in mutual discord, and hostile independence. The Vandals prevailed; and their *uteraseries* were besieged in the Nervian hills, between Leon and Oviedo, till the approach of Count Asterius compelled, or rather provoked, the victorious barbarians to remove the scene of the war to the plains of Bætica. The rapid progress of the Vandals soon required a more effectual opposition; and the master-general Castinus marched against them with a numerous army of Romans and Goths. Vanquished in battle by an inferior enemy, Castinus fled with dishonour to Tarragona; and this memorable defeat, which has been represented as the punishment, was most probably the effect, of his rash presumption.*

Seville and Carthage became the reward, or rather the prey, of the ferocious conquerors; and the vessels which they found in the harbour of Carthage, might easily transport them to the isles of Majorca and Minorca, where the Spanish fugitives, as in a secure recess, had vainly concealed their families and their fortunes. The

* See the *Chronicon* of Prosper and Marcellinus. According to the latter, the Vandals, having learned the victory of the Visigoths in their warlike party, they heard, they joined, they entered a temple in the house of the king, with the design, perhaps, of representing the profits and spoils of their marches.

experienced navigation, and perhaps the prospect of Africa, encouraged the Vandals to accept the invitation which they received from Count Bonifacius; and the death of Gonderic served only to forward and animate the bold enterprise. In the room of a prince, not conspicuous for any superior powers of the mind or body, they acquired his bastard brother, the terrible Genseric: a name, which, in the destruction of the Roman empire, has deserved an equal rank with the names of Alaric and Attila. The king of the Vandals is described to have been of a middle stature, with a lameness in one leg, which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his horse. His slow and cautious speech seldom declared the deep purposes of his soul: he disdained to imitate the luxury of the vanquished; but he indulged the stormy passions of anger and revenge. The ambition of Genseric was without bounds, and without scruples; and the warrior could dexterously employ the dark engines of policy to solicit the allies who might be useful to his success, or to scatter among his enemies the seeds of hatred and contention. Almost in the moment of his departure he was informed, that Hermeneric, king of the Suevi, had presumed to ravage the Spanish

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Genseric,
king of the
Vandals.

¹ Genseric's name seems to extremely properly denote a mixture of equal parts of bloodiness, without profusion, without excess, temperate strength, and fortitude, firmness, vigilance, and intemperance joined promiscuously, forming indistinguishable joints, with neither part predominant, as Tacitus says, lib. ii. c. 42. This picture, which is drawn with some stills resembling Hannibal, and that hero might bear the Gothic history of Genseric.

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territories, which he was resolved to abandon. Impatient of the insult, Genseric pursued the hasty retreat of the Suedi as far as Merida; precipitated the king and his army into the river Anas, and calmly returned to the sea-shore, to embark his victorious troops. The vessels which transported the Vandals over the modern Straits of Gibraltar, a channel only twelve miles in breadth, were furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished their departure; and by the African general, who had implored their formidable assistance.*

His death.
in Africa.
A. D. 429.
May.

and re-
stores his
king.
A. D. 429.

Our fancy, so long accustomed to exaggerate and multiply the martial swarms of barbarians that seemed to issue from the north, will perhaps be surprised by the account of the army which Genseric mustered on the coast of Mauri-tania. The Vandals, who in twenty years had penetrated from the Elbe to Mount Athos, were united under the command of their warlike king; and he reigned with equal authority over the Alan, who had passed, within the term of human life, from the cold of Scythia to the excessive heat of an African climate. The hopes of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes

* See the Chronicle of Isidore. That history is Spanish and a contemporary, gives the passage of the Vandals to the mouth of the Anas, at the foot of Abulonis, which corresponds to Cadiz, in 429. The date, which coincides with A. D. 429, is confirmed by Isidore, another Spanish bishop, and is justly preferred to the account of those writers, who have reached for this event, one of the two preceding years. See Page-Correll, vol. II. p. 312. An.

by the same means which had occasioned their ruin. Yet this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and though Genseric artfully magnified his apparent strength, by appointing eighty *chifurachs*, or commanders of thousands, the fallacious increase of old men, of children, and of slaves, would scarcely have swelled his army to the number of fourscore thousand persons.¹ But his own dexterity, and the discontents of Africa, soon fortified the Vandal powers, by the accession of numerous and active allies. The parts of Mauritania, which border on the great desert, and the Atlantic ocean, were filled with a fierce and untractable race of men, whose savage temper had been exasperated, rather than reclaimed, by their dread of the Roman arms. The wandering Moors,² as they gradually ventured to approach the seashore, and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armour, the martial pride and discipline of the unknown strangers, who had landed on their

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.....

The
Moors.

¹ *Unguent Procopius* on *Bel. Vandal.* l. i. c. 3. p. 220, and *Strabo* *Unguent*, lib. *Periplus* *Vandal.* l. i. c. 1. p. 2, with *Belisarius*. We are assisted by *Lactius*, that *Genseric* ordered *Spasmodius* *Vandal* to send *chifurachs* *familiares* and *Parasiti* (see *V. Augustin.* p. 78, and *Belisarius*, p. 471) directed his army, as *Belisarius* says, *multitudine* *gentium* *Vandalorum* et *Africorum* *etiam* *multitudine* *gentium* *Arabum* *et* *Chelorum* *gentium*, *et* *multitudine* *gentium* *et* *gentium*.

² For the manners of the Moors, see *Procopius*, *de* *Bel. Vandal.* l. i. c. 3. p. 220; *de* *Chel. gentium* and *multitudine*, *de* *Chel.* *Belisarius*, *Unguent*, *Periplus*, *lib. 1.* c. 1. p. 2. *Procopius* says in general, that the Moors had joined the Vandals before the *deserted* *Villages*, *de* *Bel. Vandal.* l. i. c. 3. p. 220; and it is probable that the independent tribes did not consider any *Arabum* *et* *Chelorum* *gentium* *et* *gentium*.

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 coast; and the fair complexions of the blue-eyed warriors of Germany, formed a very singular contrast with the swarthy or olive hue, which is derived from the neighbourhood of the torrid zone. After the first difficulties had in some measure been removed, which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless of any future consequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods and valleys of Mount Atlas, to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants, who had injuriously expelled them from the native sovereignty of the land.

The de-
 struction

The persecution of the donatists¹ was an event not less favourable to the designs of Genseric. Seventeen years before he landed in Africa, a public conference was held at Carthage, by the order of the magistrate. The catholics were satisfied, that, after the invincible reasons which they had alleged, the obstinacy of the schismatics must be inexcusable and voluntary; and the emperor Honorius was persuaded to inflict the most rigorous penalties on a faction, which had so long abused his patience and clemency. Three hundred bishops,² with many thousands of the inferior clergy, were torn from their churches,

¹ See Tillamont, *Memoires Eclesiast.* tom. i. p. 325-326; and the whole course of the persecution, in the original manuscript, published by Dupin in the *hist. of Origen*, p. 373-374.

² The dissenting bishops, in the synod of Carthage, amounted to 379; and they asserted, that their whole number was not less than 400. The catholics but 285 present. 120 absent, besides sixty-two absent bishops.

stripped of their ecclesiastical possessions, banished to the islands, and proscribed by the laws, if they presumed to trave] themselves in the provinces of Africa. Their numerous congregations, both in cities and in the country, were deprived of the rights of citizens, and of the exercise of religious worship. A regular scale of fines, from ten to two hundred pounds of silver, was curiously ascertained, according to the distinctions of rank and fortune, to punish the crime of assisting at a schismatical conventicle: and if the fine had been levied five times, without subduing the obstinacy of the offender, his future punishment was referred to the discretion of the imperial court.¹ By these severities, which obtained the warmest approbation of St. Augustin,² great numbers of donatists were reconciled to the catholic church: but the fanatics, who still persevered in their opposition, were provoked to madness and despair; the distracted country was filled with tumult and bloodshed: the armed troops of Clergy-cells alternately pointed their rage against themselves, or against their adversaries: and the calendar of

¹ The 20th title of the seventh book of the Theodosian Code, contains a series of the imperial laws against the Donatists. From the year 400 to our year 438. Of these the 12th Art. promulgated by Honorius, A. D. 414, is the most severe and effectual.

² St. Augustin almost incessantly was engaged in the proper treatment of heretics. His public denunciation of perversity and impiety for the maintenance, has been quoted by Mr. Locke, 1696, p. 422, among the various specimens of his extraordinary abilities. A learned philosopher, the celebrated Bosc, (see his p. 44-452,) has observed, with exquisite judgment and elegance, the argument by which the bishop of Hippo proved, in his old age, the possession of the Donatists.

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martyrs received on both sides a considerable augmentation.* Under these circumstances, Genseric, a Christian, but an enemy of the orthodox communion, showed himself to the despotists as a powerful deliverer, from whom they might reasonably expect the repeal of the odious and oppressive edicts of the Roman emperors.† The conquest of Africa was facilitated by the active zeal, or the secret favour, of a domestic faction; the wanton outrages against the churches and the clergy, of which the Vandals are accused, may be fairly imputed to the fanaticism of their allies; and the intolerant spirit, which disgraced the triumph of Christianity, contributed to the loss of the most important province of the West.‡

Early re-
pentance
of Rome.
Ann. A. D.
455.

The court and the people were astonished by the strange intelligence, that a virtuous hero, after so many favours, and so many services, had renounced his allegiance, and invited the bar-

* See *Vindicta*, Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 284-302, seq. The *Quintus* *Septimius* of thousands of these martyrs perished. Augustine speaks, and probably with truth, that these numbers were still augmented by the secret persecutions, that it was better that men should more frequently be slain, than that all should have to feel shame.

† According to St. Augustine and Theodoret, the barbarians were invited to the persecution, or at least to the unity, of the Arians, which Genseric supported. *Theodoret*, *Mem. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 38.

‡ See *Strabo*, *Geogr. Lib. 17*, p. 178. *Strabo*, *Lib. 17*, p. 178. The Carthage, though much inferior to the old Carthage of great name, was known then to the world, but showed the apparent consequence of the Vandal and the desertion. Though the empire of the barbarians, the settlement of Africa enjoyed no sharing part of our modern power; at the end of which, we may easily trace them by the signal of the perpetual persecution. See *Vindicta*, *Mem. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 302, &c.

humans to destroy the province intrusted to his command. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behaviour might be excused by some honourable motive, solicited, during the absence of Etrus, a free conference with the count of Africa; and Darius, an officer of high distinction, was named for the important embassy.* In their first interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained; the opposite letters of Etrus were produced and compared; and the fraud was easily detected. Phacelia and Boniface lamented their fatal error; and the Count had sufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign, or to expose his hand to her future resentment. His repentance was fervent and sincere; but he soon discovered, that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage, and the Roman garrisons, returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian; but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and confusion; and the inexorable king of the Vandals, disdain-
ing all terms of accommodation, sternly refused to relinquish the possession of his prey. The fatal

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* In a confidential letter to Count Marcellus, the emperor, without mentioning the grounds of the quarrel, privately informs him, that he suspects the count of a treasonable and a dangerous design; he exhorts him, with solemn duty, to his defence, and gently suggests, with eyes, if he could spare the company of his wife, to conduct a list of military and domestic attendants. Marcellus, *Epist. ad. Val.* p. 1770. The letter, in a pressing moment, was burnt, the count of Africa, *Epist. ad. Val.* p. 1771.

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Basiliens, and his hardy levies of provincial troops, were defeated with considerable loss; the victorious Barbarians insulted the open country; and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, were the only cities that appeared to rise above the general inundation.

Description
of Africa.

The long and narrow tract of the African coast was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean. A simple reflection will impress every thinking mind with the clearest idea of fertility and cultivation: the country was extremely populous; the inhabitants reserved a liberal subsistence for their own use; and the annual exportation, particularly of wheat, was so regular and plentiful, that Africa deserved the name of the common granary of Rome and of mankind. On a sudden, the seven fruitful provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Vandals; whose destructive rage has perhaps been exaggerated by popular animosity, religious zeal, and extravagant declamation. War, in its fairest form, implies a perpetual violation of humanity and justice; and the hostilities of barbarians are inflamed by the fierce and lawless spirit which incessantly disturbs their peaceful and domestic society. The Vandals, where they found resistance, seldom gave quarter; and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruins of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions

of age, or sex, or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a discovery of their hidden wealth. The stern policy of Genseric justified his frequent examples of military execution: he was not always the master of his own passions, or of those of his followers; and the calamities of war were aggravated by the ferocity of the Moors, and the fanaticism of the druidists. Yet I shall not easily be persuaded, that it was the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives, and other fruit-trees, of a country where they intended to settle; nor can I believe that it was a usual stratagem to slaughter great numbers of their prisoners before the walls of a besieged city, for the sole purpose of infecting the air, and producing a pestilence, of which they themselves must have been the first victims.^b

The generous mind of Count Boniface was tortured by the exquisite distress of beholding the ruin, which he had crested, and whose rapid progress he was unable to check. After the loss of a battle, he retired into Hippo Regius; where he was immediately besieged by an enemy, who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa.

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Page of
Hippo.
A. D. 480.
Mar.

^b The original manuscript of the *Annals of Africa* was written by a certain Isaac Capricorn, bishop of Tassila, to which the passage from the *Annals of Ephesus*, cap. LXXIII. p. 479. &c. is the life of St. Augustin, by the learned and diligent Benedictine cap. LXXIII. p. 479. &c. by the history of the *Vandalic Persecution*, by Vincent Vincent, ch. 1. & 2. &c. with Scholastic. The last passage, which was drawn into proof about the words, is more expressive of the author's opinion than of the truth of them.

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Death of
St. Augu-
stin.
A. D. 430,
Aug. 28.

The maritime colony of *Hippo*,^a about two hundred miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguishing epithet of *Regius*, from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and population still adhere to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of *Bona*. The military labours, and anxious reflections, of Count *Audace*, were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his friend *St. Augustine*,^b till that bishop, the light and pillar of the catholic church, was greatly relaxed, in the third month of the siege, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country. The youth of *Augustine* had been stained by the vices and errors which he so ingeniously confesses: but from the moment of his conversion to that of his death, the manners of the bishop of *Hippo* were pure and austere: and the most conspicuous of his virtues was an ardent zeal against heretics of every denomination; the Manicheans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians, against whom he waged a perpetual controversy.

^a The *Fasticon*, *Geograph. Astric.* tom. 2. part 2. p. 112. And *St. Isidore*, in *Hispania*, tom. 2. lib. 10. *Epistolog. de Maribus*, tom. 2. p. 494. 495. *St. Augustine's* *Tractatus* p. 60. 47. The old *Hippo Regius* was totally destroyed by the Arabs, in the seventh century; but a new town, at the distance of two miles, was built, with the privileges and immunities, in the eleventh century, about three leagues beyond the walls of the ancient, now desolate, metropolis. The adjacent country is cultivated for a part only, a fertile soil, and plenty of exquisite fruits.

^b The life of *St. Augustine*, by *Tillemont*, tom. 2. p. 40. *Augustine* (Abbe, *Erasmus*, *Aug.* tom. 2. of *works* there are thousand pages), and the discourse of *John* *Baronius* *Justinian* was written, on this occasion, by *Baronius* and *Gregory* and for the benefit of his work.

When the city, some months after his death, was burnt by the Vandals, the library was fortunately saved, which contained six voluminous writings; two hundred and thirty-two separate books or treatises on theological subjects, besides a complete exposition of the psalter and the gospel, and a copious magazine of epistles and homilies.* According to the judgment of the most impartial critics, the superficial learning of Augustin was confined to the Latin language;† and his style, though sometimes animated by the eloquence of passion, is usually clouded by false and affected rhetoric. But he possessed a strong, capacious, argumentative mind; he boldly sounded the dark abyss of grace, predestination, free-will, and original sin; and the rigid system of Christianity which he framed, or restored,‡ has been enter-

* Such at least is the account of Vener. Vindob. lib. vi. c. 21; though Goussier seems to doubt whether any persons had read, or were admitted, all the works of St. Augustin; see Huet, *opusc.* tom. i. p. 218, in *Catalog. Scriptur. Babil.* They have been imperfectly printed; and Beale (*Reluctant*) has done him ill, p. 126. This has given a large and incorrect notion of them, as they stand in the last edition of the Benedicines. My personal acquaintance with the bishop of Hippo does not seem to prove the exaggeration, and the story of Beale.

† In his works hardly mention is made of Augustin's Greek and superior the study of Greek; and Beale seems that he read the *Trinitatis* and *Trinitatis* studies, *Trinitatis*, vii. 20. Some modern critics have thought, that his ignorance of Greek disqualified him from expounding the Scriptures; and Chrysostom, or Hieronymus, would have required the knowledge of that language in a professor of divinity.

‡ These questions were without opinion, from the time of St. Paul to that of St. Augustin; I had intended that the Greek Fathers presented the various opinions of old theologians; and that the authority of St. Augustin was derived from the mass of his school.

CHAP. XXXIV. gained, with public applause, and secret reluctance, by the Latin church.*

Defeat and
return of
Boniface.
A. D. 482.

By the skill of Boniface, and perhaps by the ignorance of the Vandals, the siege of Hippo was protracted above fourteen months: the sea was continually open; and when the adjacent country had been exhausted by irregular rapine, the besiegers themselves were compelled by famine to relinquish their enterprise. The importance and danger of Africa were deeply felt by the regent of the West. Placidia implored the assistance of her eastern ally; and the Italian fleet and army were reinforced by Aspar, who sailed from Constantinople with a powerful armament. As soon as the force of the two empires was united under the command of Boniface, he boldly marched against the Vandals; and the loss of a second battle irretrievably decided the fate of Africa. He embarked with the precipitation of despair: and the people of Hippo were permitted, with their families and effects, to occupy the vacant place of the soldiers, the greatest part of whom were either slain or made prisoners by the Vandals. The Count, whose fatal

* The story of Boniface has attracted attention, and excited curiosity. Yet at the real distance between them it inevitably went to a thousand misapprehensions; the Malians are opposed by the hostility of the Latins, and the Egyptians are disgraced by their desertion to the Arabs. In the meanwhile, the provincial Government stand aloof, and avoid the mutual purpurs of the dissensions, see a curious Review of the Contemporary, or La Contemporain, Bibliothèque Universelle, 1800, liv., p. 144-206. Perhaps a thousand still more considerable, may be said to be his time, which he passed in Arabian Countries on the Epistle to the Romans.

credulity had wounded the vitals of the republic, might enter the palace of Ravenna with some anxiety, which was soon removed by the smiles of Placidia. Boniface accepted with gratitude the rank of patrician, and the dignity of master-general of the Roman armies; but he must have blushed at the sight of those medals, in which he was represented with the name and attributes of victory. The discovery of his fraud, the displeasure of the empress, and the distinguished favour of his rival, exasperated the haughty and perfidious soul of *Atius*. He hastily returned from Gaul to Italy, with a retinue, or rather with an army, of barbarian followers; and such was the weakness of the government, that the two generals decided their private quarrel in a bloody battle. Boniface was successful; but he received in the conflict a mortal wound from the spear of his adversary, of which he expired within a few days, in such Christian and charitable sentiments, that he exhorted his wife, a rich heiress of Spain, to accept *Atius* for her second husband. But *Atius* could not derive any immediate advantage from the generosity of his dying enemy; he was proclaimed a rebel by the justice of Placidia; and though he attempted to defend

the *Fasti*,
A. D. 452.

1 *Monum. Fidei*, *Lyons*, p. 85. On one side, the head of Valentinian, on the reverse, Boniface, with a sword in his hand, and a palm in the other, standing on a triumphal arch, which is drawn by four horses, on a similar medal, by *Just* (supra) p. 100, which is nothing? I should think whether similar medals are to be found at the head of a serpent on the reverse of an Imperial medal. See *Monum. de Melanis*, by the *Père Jodet*, tom. 6. p. 125-130, with of 1779, by the *Baron de la Roche*.

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THE VANDALS IN
AFRICA.

some strong fortresses erected on his patrimonial estate, the imperial power soon compelled him to retire into Pannonia, to the tents of his faithful Huns. The republic was deprived, by their mutual discord, of the service of her two most illustrious champions.¹

Progress
of the
Vandals in
Africa.
A. D. 431.
A.D.

It might naturally be expected, after the retreat of Boniface, that the Vandals would achieve, without resistance or delay, the conquest of Africa. Eight years, however, elapsed, from the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In the midst of that interval, the ambitious Genseric, in the full tide of apparent prosperity, negotiated a treaty of peace, by which he gave his son Huneric for an hostage: and consented to leave the western empire in the undisturbed possession of the throne Mauritania.² This moderation, which cannot be imputed to the justice, must be ascribed to the policy, of the conqueror. His throne was encompassed with domestic enemies; who accused the baseness of his birth, and asserted the legitimate claims of his nephews, the sons of Gunderic. Those nephews, indeed, he

¹ Prosperus de Bell. Goth. l. 1, c. 2, p. 184, continues the history of Boniface, so far as that his father, he says. His death is mentioned by Prosper and Marcellinus; the expressions of the latter, that Africa, the day before, had been almost blessed with a large army, implies something like a regular host.

² See Prosperus de Bell. Goth. l. 1, c. 4, p. 186. Valentinian publishes several edicts, to reduce the claims of the Vandals and Marcellinus's subjects; he discharged them, in a great measure, from the payment of such taxes, as were most burdensome to the poor, and gave to the whole of Africa the personal rights which he the people of Rome. See Thiel. tom. vi. c. xiii. p. 11, 12.

sacrificed to his envy: and their mother, the widow of the deceased king, was precipitated, by his order, into the river Ampsaga. But the public discontent burst forth in dangerous and frequent conspiracies; and the warlike tyrant is supposed to have shed more Vandal blood by the hand of the executioner, than in the field of battle.* The convulsions of Africa, which had threatened his attack, opposed the firm establishment of his power; and the various nations of the Moors and Germans, the donatists and catholics, continually disturbed, or threatened, the untried reign of the conqueror. As he advanced towards Carthage, he was forced to withdraw his troops from the western provinces; the sea-coast was exposed to the naval enterprises of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and in the heart of Numidia, the strong inland city of Cirta still persisted in obstinate independence.† These difficulties were gradually subdued by the spirit, the perseverance, and the cruelty of Genseric; who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the establishment of his African kingdom. He subscribed a solemn treaty, with the hope of deriving some advantage from the term of its continuance; and the moment of its violation. The vigilance of his enemies was relaxed by the protestations of friendships, which succeeded his hostile approach; and Carthage was at

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* Velle Pictor, in Frontin. Vandal. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 82. The convulsions of Africa towards the subjects, are strongly expressed in Jerome's Chronicle, A. D. 418.

† Frontin. in V. Augustin. c. 28, apud Bolland. p. 428.

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 XXXII. eighty-five years after the destruction of the city
 and republic by the younger Scipio.*

They sur-
 prise Car-
 thage,
 A. D. 538,
 Chapter II.

A new city had arisen from its ruins, with the title of a colony; and though Carthage might yield to the royal prerogatives of Constantinople, and perhaps to the trade of Alexandria, or the splendour of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the West; as the *Rome* (if we may use the style of contemporaries) of the African world. "That wealthy and opulent metropolis," displayed, in a dependant condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treasures of the six provinces. A regular subordination of civil honours, gradually ascended from the procurators of the streets and quarters of the city, to the tribunal of the supreme magistrate, who, with the title of præconsul, represented the state and dignity of a consul of ancient Rome. Schools and *gymnasiums* were instituted for the education of the African youth; and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages.

* See the *Cronicon* of Isidore, Isidore, Prætor, and Maximilian. They nearly live near 1000, but different days, for the capture of Carthage.

† The picture of Carthage, as it descended in the depth and high towers, is taken from the *Expédition contre Maure*, p. 115, 116, in the third volume of Huet's *Mémoires*. Compare also *Journal de Trévoux* de l'année 1704, p. 729, 730; and principally from *Journal de Trévoux* de l'année 1704, 1. vol. p. 217, 218. I was surprised that the *Nomine* would not place under a more, or at least, at Carthage; but only a grammar, or French translation.

The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent: a shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital: the new port, a secure and capacious harbour, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and strangers: and the splendid games of the circus and theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and faithless character.* The habits of trade, and the abuse of luxury, had corrupted their manners; but their impious contempt of monks, and the shameless practice of unnatural lust, are the two blemishes which excite the pious vehemence of Salvian, the preacher of the age.† The king of the Vandals severely reformed the vices of a voluptuous people; and the ancient, indole, ingenuous freedom of Carthage, (these expressions of Victor are not without energy), was reduced by Genseric into a state of

* The anonymous author of the *Expositio* *de* *Militia* compares in his treatise *Carthago* the country and the inhabitants; and after remarking their want of faith, he easily concludes, *Difficile enim fides est inveniatur hominibus, tametsi sit sancta, post tota corruptione*. P. 18.

† He declares, that the private sins of civil society were directed to the ruin of Carthage, p. 161 p. 177. In the description of sin, the writers approached their reader's view: In his exhortation to the Christians was evident, you see that this business with prostitutes frequent, p. 179. The games of Carthage were polluted by atrocious enormities, the publicly accused the procreant, the thief, and the character of women, p. 183. If a week appeared in the city, the day was well passed with diverse hours and various dissipated voluptuous customs. p. 184.

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ignominious servitude. After he had permitted his licentious troops to satiate their rage and avarice, he instituted a more regular system of rapine and oppression. An edict was promulgated, which enjoined all persons, without fraud or delay, to deliver their gold, silver, jewels, and valuable furniture or apparel, to the royal officers; and the attempt to reserve any part of their patrimony, was inexorably punished with death and torture, as an act of treason against the state. The lands of the proconsular province, which formed the immediate district of Carthage, were accurately measured, and divided among the hasmucians; and the conqueror reserved for his peculiar domain, the fertile territory of Byzacium, and the adjacent parts of Numidia and Gordia.^a

African
dynasty and
subjects.

It was natural enough that Genetrix should hate those whom he had injured: the nobility and senators of Carthage were exposed to his jealousy and resentment: and all those who refused the ignominious terms, which their honour and religion forbade them to accept, were compelled by the African tyrant to embrace the condition of perpetual banishment. Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the East, were filled with a crowd of exiles, of fugitives, and of inglorious captives, who solicited the public compassion: and the benevolent epistles of Theodoret, still preserve the names and misfortunes of Celsian and

^a *Geograph. Cosmograph. de Bell. Vandalis* l. 4. c. 3. l. 106. 107. and
l. 5. c. 1. *de Provinciis Vandalis* l. 1. c. 1.

Maria.¹ The Syrian bishop deploras the mis-
 fortunes of Celestian, who, from the state of
 a noble and opulent senator of Carthage, was
 reduced, with his wife and family, and servants,
 to beg his bread in a foreign country: but
 he applauds the resignation of the Christian
 exile, and the philosophic temper, which, under
 the pressure of such calamities, could enjoy
 more real happiness, than was the ordinary lot
 of wealth and prosperity. The story of Maria,
 the daughter of the magnificent Eudæmon, is
 singular and interesting. In the sack of Car-
 thage, she was purchased from the Vandals by
 some merchants of Syria, who afterwards sold
 her as a slave in their native country. A female
 attendant, transported in the same ship, and sold
 in the same family, still continued to respect a
 mistress whom fortune had reduced to the com-
 mon level of servitude; and the daughter of
 Eudæmon received from her grateful affection the
 domestic services, which she had once required
 from her obedience. This remarkable behaviour
 disclosed the real condition of Maria, who, in
 the absence of the bishop of Cyrrhus, was redeemed
 from slavery by the generosity of some soldiers
 of the garrison. The liberality of Theodosius
 provided for her decent maintenance; and she
 passed ten months among the domestics of the
 church; till she was unexpectedly informed, that
 her father, who had escaped from the ruin of

¹ Bolland (p. 346-451) has referred from Theodoret, and other sources, the misfortune, real and imaginary, of the inhabitants of Carthage.

CHAP. XXXIII. Carthage, exercised an honorable office in one of the western provinces. Her filial impatience was seconded by the pious bishop, Theodoret, in a letter still extant, recommends Maria to the bishop of Ege, a maritime city of Cilicia, which was frequented, during the annual fair, by the vessels of the West; most earnestly requesting, that his colleague would use the maiden with a tenderness suitable to her birth; and that he would intrust her to the care of such faithful merchants, as would esteem it a sufficient gain, if they restored a daughter, lost beyond all human hope, to the arms of her afflicted parent.

Fable of
the seven
slayers.

Among the insipid legends of ecclesiastical history, I am tempted to distinguish the memorable fable of the *seven slayers*;* whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Theodosius, and the conquest of Africa by the Vandals.† When the emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of

* The story of *seven slayers* is of small importance; but I have extracted it from the *History* which was translated from the Greek by the order of Gregory of Tours, into French, Martigny, &c. &c. by M. de Bénédict Perizon, tom. ii. p. 466. &c. in the French text of such compilation, *apud* Pothier, p. 1106, 1107; and in the edition of the *Fabliaux* *Exposition*, tom. i. p. 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307.

† The *History* written, as they are quoted by Ammianus, 180. *de* *Maxim.* tom. i. p. 226, 228, places the transmigration of the *Seven Slayers* in the years 336, 346, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, of the era of the Incarnation. Their *Geography*, which Pothier had read, assigns the date of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, which may resemble either 425, or 426, or 427. The period which had elapsed since the persecution of Decius is easily ascertained; and nothing less than the ignorance of Martigny, or the ignorance, could suppose an interval of three or four hundred years.

Epheus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the side of an adjacent mountain: where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged, without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time, the slaves of Adolus, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones, to supply materials for some rustic edifice: the light of the sun darted into the cavern, and the seven sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber, as they thought, of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should secretly return to the city, to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth (if we may still employ that appellation) could no longer recognise the once familiar aspect of his native country: and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Epheus. His singular dress, and obsolete language, confounded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius as the current coin of the empire: and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual inquiries produced the amazing discovery, that two centuries were almost elapsed since Jamblichus and his friends had escaped from the rage of a pagan tyrant. The bishop of Epheus

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the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and, as it is said, the emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers; who bestowed their benediction, related their story, and at the same instant peacefully expired. The origin of this marvellous fable cannot be ascribed to the pious fraud and credulity of the modern Greeks, since the authentic tradition may be traced within half a century of the supposed miracle. James of Sarug, a Syrian bishop, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodosius, has devoted one of his two hundred and thirty homilies to the praise of the young men of Ephesus.¹ Their legend, before the end of the sixth century, was translated from the Syriac into the Latin language, by the care of Gregory of Tours. The hostile communions of the East preserve their memory with equal reverence; and their names are honourably inscribed in the Roman, the Abyssinian, and the Russian calendar.² Nor has their reputation been confined to the Christian world. This po-

¹ James, one of the orthodox fathers of the Syrian church, was born A. D. 421; he began to govern his diocese, A. D. 474; he was made bishop of Edessa, in the district of Syria, and primate of Mesopotamia, A. D. 518, and died A. D. 525. *Antiquities*, tom. 4, p. 348, 350. For the history of *Pierre Epistate*, see p. 320-323; though I must wish that *Antiquities* had translated the story of James of Sarug, instead of inserting the legend of Maron.

² See the *Ann. Ecclesiæ of the Basilianus* (Mansi fulli, tom. vi, p. 311-36). This curious calendar of years, in one hundred and twenty-six years, (544-670), and its 1221 columns in folio, has succeeded to follow from the 15th day of October. The repetition of the *Annals* has more probably attracted its veneration, which, through the medium of fable and superstition, resembles some natural and philosophical systems.

ular tale, which Mahomet might learn when he drew his sails to the fair of Syria, be introduced, as a divine revelation, into the Koran.* The story of the Seven Sleepers has been adopted, and adorned, by the authors, from Bengal to Africa, who profess the Mahometan religion; and some vestiges of a similar tradition have been discovered in the remote extremities of Scandinavia.† This easy and universal belief, so expressive of the sense of mankind, may be ascribed to the genuine merit of the fable itself. We imperceptibly advance from youth to age, without observing the gradual, but incessant, change of human affairs: and even in our larger experience of history, the imagination is accustomed, by a perpetual series of causes and effects, to unite the most distant revolutions. But if the interval between two memorable eras could be instantly annihilated; if it were possible, after a momentary slumber of two hundred years, to

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* See *History of Syria*, from a MS. now in the Lib. Brit. and other MSS. in p. 101. "But such an ample passage, Mahomet has been allowed much liberty to improve. He has increased the long sleep of the Seven Sleepers; the release of the first, who awoke his comrades, who a day, that he might share with his country, and the eyes of God himself, who appeared, their bodies were purified, by washing them in the light and love."

† See p. 174, *History of Scandinavia*, in 1782; and *Recherches Hist. Politiques*, *Annuaire*, p. 38, 40.

* Part of the *History of England*, the *Century of the Hundred Years*, &c. &c. p. 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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display the new world to the eyes of a spectator, who still retained a lively and recent impression of the old, his surprise and his reflections would furnish the pleasing subject of a philosophical romance. The scene could not be more advantageously placed, than in the two centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Decius and of Theodosius the younger. During this period, the seat of government had been transported from Rome to a new city on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus; and the abuse of military spirit had been suppressed, by an artificial system of tame and ceremonious servitude. The throne of the persecuting Decius was filled by a succession of Christian and orthodox princes, who had extirpated the fabulous gods of antiquity: and the public devotion of the age was impatient to exalt the saints and martyrs of the catholic church, on the altars of Diana and Hercules. The union of the Roman empire was dissolved: its genius was humbled in the dust; and armies of unknown barbarians, issuing from the frozen regions of the North, had established their victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Africa.

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The character, conquests, and court of Attila, king of the Huns—Death of Theodasius the Younger—Elevation of Marcian to the empire of the East.

THE western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vandals, who fled before the Huns; but the achievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperity. Their victorious hordes had spread from the Volga to the Danube; but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity, by condescending, for the hopes of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of ARTHAS,* the Huns again became the terror of

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The Huns,
A. D. 376-
433.

* The authentic materials for the history of Attila may be found in Jornandes, *de Rebus Geticis*, c. 38-40, p. 450-454, edit. Grevi, and Procopius, *de Bello Gothico*, p. 22-23, Paris, 1646. I have not seen the lives of Attila, composed by Asvoldus Cassin Calensis Diocesanus, in the twelfth century, &c. by Nicholas Valart, archbishop of Glas, in the sixteenth. See Massey's History of the Germans, c. 24, and Meiss's *Geographische Anmerkungen*, tom. ii. p. 89, 90. Whatever the modern Hungarians have added, must be fabulous; and they do not seem to have resorted to the art of fiction. They suppose, that when Attila invaded Gaul and Italy, married considerable cities, but he was not baptized and twenty years of age. *Thesaur. Critic.* p. 1, c. 61. in Suppl. Hungar. tom. i. p. 16.

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 XXXIV. ters and actions of that formidable barbarian,
 who alternately insulted and invaded the East
 and the West, and urged the rapid downfall of
 the Roman empire.

THE establishment in modern Hungary—
 In the tide of emigration, which impetuously
 rolled from the confines of China to those of
 Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes
 may vainly be found on the verge of the Rus-
 sian provinces. The accumulated weight was
 sustained for a while by artificial barriers; and
 the easy complacency of the emperors invited,
 without satisfying, the insatiable demands of the
 barbarians, who had acquired an eager appetite
 for the luxuries of civilized life. The Hunga-
 rians, who audaciously insert the name of Attila
 among their native kings, may affirm with truth,
 that the hordes, which were subject to his uncle
 Rour, or Rugilas, had formed their encampments
 within the limits of modern Hungary;^a in a
 fertile country, which liberally supplied the wants
 of a nation of hunters and shepherds. In this
 advantageous situation, Rugilas and his valiant
 brothers, who continually added to their power
 and reputation, commanded the alternative of

^a Hungary has been commonly supposed by some German au-
 thors. 1. The Clans of Attila; 2. The Huns, or the Hunnians;
 and, 3. The Turks of Magyar. A. D. 899, the immediate and ge-
 neral situation of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with
 the first horde is extremely false and remote. The freedom and
 value of Matthew Szécsényi's report to create a confirmed misrepre-
 sentation respecting ancient and modern Hungary. I have seen the ori-
 ginal in Kitchin's Journal at Malabar, 1781, and p. 2-24, and
 Allgemeine Encyclopädie, Nov. 1781, p. 121, 122.

peace or war with the two empires. His alliance with the Romans of the West was cemented by his personal friendship for the great Ætius; who was always sure of finding in the barbarian camp, a hospitable reception, and a powerful support. At his solicitation, and in the name of John the emperor, sixty thousand Huns advanced to the confines of Italy; their march and their retreat were alike expensive to the state; and the grateful policy of Ætius abandoned the possession of Pannonia to his faithful captives. The Romans of the East were not less apprehensive of the arms of Hinglas, which threatened the provinces, or even the capital. Some ecclesiastical historians have destroyed the barbarians with lightning and pestilence; but Theodosius was reduced to the more humble expedient of stipulating an annual payment of three hundred and fifty pounds of gold, and of disguising this dishonourable tribute by the title of general, which the king of the Huns condescended to accept. The public tranquillity was frequently interrupted by the fierce impatience of the barbarians, and the perfidious intrigues of the Byzantine court. Four dependant nations, among whom we may distinguish the Bavarians, disclaimed the sovereignty of the Huns; and their revolt was encouraged and protected by a Roman

* *Isidore*, l. vii. c. 42. *Theodoret*, l. vi. c. 26. *Theodoret*, who charges Isidore on the title of his prebendary, mentions, however, *Isidore*, *the Emperor*, in l. vi. c. 26, 27, 28, and the same and following, but not the name.

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alliance: all the just claims, and formidable power, of Rugilas, were effectually urged by the voice of Esclaw his ambassador. Peace was the unanimous wish of the senate: their decree was ratified by the emperor, and two ambassadors were named, Plinthus, a general of Scythian extraction, but of consular rank; and the questor Epigenes, a wise and experienced statesman, who was recommended to that office by his ambitious colleague.

Reign of
ADUL.
A. D. 422.
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The death of Rugilas suspended the progress of the treaty: His two nephews, Attila and Bleda, who succeeded to the throne of their uncle, consented to a personal interview with the ambassadors of Constantinople; but as they proudly refused to dismount, the business was transacted on horseback, in a spacious plain in the city of Margus, in the Upper Mœsia. The kings of the Huns assumed the solid benefits, as well as the vain honours, of the negotiation. They dictated the conditions of peace, and each condition was an insult on the majesty of the empire. Besides the freedom of a safe and plentiful market on the banks of the Danube, they required that the annual contribution should be augmented from three hundred and fifty to seven hundred pounds of gold; that a fine, or ransom, of eight pieces of gold, should be paid for every Roman captive, who had escaped from his barbarian master; that the emperor should renounce all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Huns: and that all the fugitives who had taken refuge in the court, or provinces, of

Theodosius, should be delivered to the justice of their offended sovereign. This justice was rigorously inflicted on some unfortunate priests of a royal race. They were crucified on the territories of the empire, by the command of Attila; and, as soon as the king of the Huns had impressed the Romans with the terror of his name, he indulged them in a short and arbitrary respite, whilst he subdued the rebellious or independent nations of Scythia and Germany.*

Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his noble, perhaps his regal, descent from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin: and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck: a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-set eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of enormous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the king of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of

His eyes
and nose
were set

* See Procopius, p. 17, 48, and Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. 14, p. 42, 143, 147, 151.

* Procopius, p. 58. The modern Hungarians have deduced the genealogy, whose account, in the thirty-fifth degree, is that the son of Noah, yet they are ignorant of his father's real name, the Gengis. Hist. des Huns, tom. 2, p. 295.

* Compare Jerome's ed. 24, p. 441, with Bolland, Hist. Ecclesiæ, tom. 14, p. 261. The latter had a slight nose, regular eye eyes medium. The character and portrait of Attila are probably transmitted from Constantine Lascaris's Greek.

of Attila he he never say "where they
came from. They are all a sort of Calmuck
been beheaded with them & all with

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secretly rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. Yet this savage hero was not inaccessible to pity: his suppliant enemies might confide in the assurance of peace or pardon; and Attila was considered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master. He delighted in war; but, after he had ascended the throne in a mature age, his hand, rather than his hand, achieved the conquest of the North; and the fame of an invincible soldier was usefully exchanged for that of a prudent and successful general. The efforts of personal valour are so inconsiderable, except in poetry or romance, that victory, even among barbarians, must depend on the degree of skill, with which the passions of the multitude are combined and guided for the service of a single man. The Scythian conquerors, Attila and Zingis, surpassed their rude countrymen in art, rather than in courage: and it may be observed, that the monarchs, both of the Huns and of the Moguls, were erected by their founders on the basis of popular superstition. The miraculous conception, which fraud and credulity ascribed to the virgin mother of Zingis, raised him above the level of human nature; and the naked prophet, who, in the name of the Deity invested him with the empire of the earth, pointed the valour of the Moguls with irresistible enthusiasm.* The religious arts of

* *Attila*, *History of the Huns*, vol. i. p. 281. *Constitutional History of the Empire*, by Abbot de Mably, vol. i. p. 22; vol. iii. p. 2. *The Moguls*, by John Ovington, vol. i. p. 10. *The Moguls*, by John Ovington, vol. i. p. 10.

Attila were not less skillfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough that the Scythians should adore, with peculiar devotion, the god of wars; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelary deity under the symbol of an iron chariot.¹ One of the shepherds of the Huns perceived, that a heifer, who was grazing, had wounded herself in the foot, and curiously followed the track of the blood, till he discovered, during the long grass, the point of an ancient sword; which he dug out of the ground, and presented to Attila. That magnanimous, or rather that artful, prince, rewarded, with pious gratitude, this celestial favour; and, as the rightful possessor of the sword of Mars, asserted his divine and indefensible claim to the dominion of the earth.² If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion, a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and 24

the 1980s
and 1990s
and 2000s
and 2010s

The names of the immigrants who sailed Liberty in the three months' journey, form the seventh volume of *The History of Virginia*, written in the popular language and style which Zenger is styled the Son of Old England.

² See *Trigonostemon* and *Stemon*, and *Calligonum* as significant genera which showed some degree of power and plasticity in converting from light inflex, response to Marine response, and chemically and physically independent action. *Asplenium*, *Mosses*, and *Ferns* and the narrow range of *Linnaea*-type and *Valeriana*.

Plinius relates this remarkable story, both in the work entitled *IP. 24*, and in the quotation made by *Jerome*, in lib. p. 245. He might have employed the expression, or rather, which characterizes the *Isidore* itself, and the same he used as 'supposed' of the *Isidore* itself, which he has mentioned under the name of the *Isidore* itself.

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 IRRADIL, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive.* Whether human sacrifices formed any part of the worship of Attila, or, whether he propitiated the god of war with the victims which he continually offered in the field of battle, the favourite of Mars soon acquired a sacred character, which rendered his conquests more easy, and more permanent; and the barbarian princes confessed, in the language of devotion or flattery, that they could not presume to gaze, with a steady eye, on the divine majesty of the king of the Huns.¹ His brother Bleda, who reigned over a considerable part of the nation, was compelled to resign his sceptre, and his life. Yet even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars, convinced the world that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm.² But the extent of his empire, affords the only remaining evidence of the num-

* *Strabo*, l. 4, c. 2, s. 22. For the sake of economy, I have reduced by the smallest margin. In the human sacrifices, they cut off the shoulders and arms of the victim, which they throw up into the air, and draw round and purges from the entrails of their falling on the pile.

¹ *Plutarch*, p. 54. A more vivid proof, Augustus himself, was given. "The palace in which he lived his two nearest friends to support their divine names." *Fortun. in August.* c. 78.

² The count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. iii, p. 438, 439) attempts to draw Attila from the murder of his brother; and he almost succeeds to report the inconsistent testimony of Jornandes, and the contradictory Chronicle.

ber, and importance, of his victories: and the Scythian monarch, however ignorant of the value of science and philosophy, might, perhaps, lament that his illiterate subjects were destitute of the art which could perpetuate the memory of his exploits.

CHAP.
XCVIII.
continued.

If a line of separation were drawn between the civilized and the savage climates of the globe: between the inhabitants of cities, who cultivated the earth, and the hunters and shepherds, who dwelt in tents: Attila might aspire to the title of supreme and sole monarch of the barbarians.* He alone, among the conquerors of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia: and those vague appellations, when they are applied to his reign, may be understood with an ample latitude. *Turingia*, which stretched beyond its actual limits as far as the Danube, was in the number of his provinces: he interposed, with the weight of a powerful neighbour, in the domestic affairs of the Franks; and one of his lieutenants chastised, and almost exterminated, the Burgundians of the Rhine. He subdued the islands of the ocean, the kingdoms of Scandinavia, encompassed and divided by the waters of the Baltic; and the Hun might derive a tribute of furs from that northern region, which has been protected from all other

and acquired the empire of Scythia and Germany.

* *Fortissimum potentissimum dominum, qui nondum esse se possidet, sed se Scythia et Germania regna possidet.* Jordanes, l. ii. c. 44. *Elmas*, p. 86, 87. *Et de Ganges, by the knowledge of the Chinese, was acquired from him.* *Elmas* de antiquis sive de rebus antiquis.

CHAP. XXXIV.
 triumphed by the severity of the climate, and the
 courage of the natives. Towards the east, it is
 difficult to circumscribe the dominion of Attila
 over the Scythian deserts; yet we may be assured,
 that he reigned on the banks of the Volga;
 that the king of the Huns was dreaded, not
 only as a warrior, but as a magician;* that he
 insulted and conquered the Klans of the for-
 midable Goths; and that he sent ambassadors
 to negotiate an equal alliance with the empire of
 China. In the proud review of the nations who
 acknowledged the sovereignty of Attila, and
 who never entertained, during his life-time, the
 thought of a revolt, the Gepids and the Ostro-
 goths were distinguished by their numbers, their
 bravery, and the personal merit of their chiefs.
 The renowned Ardaric, king of the Gepids, was
 the faithful and sagacious counsellor of the mo-
 narch, who esteemed his intrepid genius, whilst
 he loved the mild and discreet virtues of the
 noble Valamir, king of the Ostrogoths. The
 crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of so many
 warlike tribes, who served under the standard of
 Attila, were ranged in the subservient order of
 guards and domestics, round the person of their
 master. They watched his nod; they trembled
 at his frown; and at the first signal of his will,

* See Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 296. The Goths believed, that the Huns could destroy all animals, insects of wood and iron. This phenomenon was produced by the wind-blast, by which insects were the best of a battle was assisted by the Mahometan forces of the Saracens, &c. See the Christiani. Ant. Hist. de Tigris, tom. ii. p. 86, 87.

they executed, without murmur or hesitation, his stern and absolute commands. In time of peace, the dependent princes, with their national troops, attended the royal camp in regular succession; but when Attila collected his military force, he was able to bring into the field an army of five or, according to another account, of seven hundred thousand barbarians.*

The ambassades of the Huns might awaken the attention of Theodosius, by reminding him, that they were his neighbours both in Europe and Asia; since they touched the Danube on one hand, and reached, with the other, as far as the Tanaïs. In the reign of his father Arcadius, a band of adventurous Huns had swept the provinces of the East; from whence they brought away rich spoils and innumerable captives.†

CHAP.
XV.
18.

The Huns
Tanaïs.
A. D. 420.
123.

* *Procopius*, de *Edif.* l. ii. c. 11, p. 587. See *Theodosius* Hist. des *Empereurs*, tom. ii. p. 123, 128. † *Procopius* also expressed the point of Asia to his readers, but not his country, since both these two colonies lived—

He ne will the ocean, howebeit still, be on the side

As to the land, long wonder, as ye' Attila's choice.

The two Huns of the *Scythia* and the *Ossetia*, we possess, both in civil and commercial history, and the whole geography of the world, without the genius of the poet.

— *the great Empire's borders* —

Atmospheres, plains, seas, and rivers, all

For what Huns' sake, and what place is better?

Supplicating, kneeling, and grovelling, all

The world's great Kings, and all that dwell below.

Thou, O King, thy royal throne, thy scepter, crown,

Atmospheres, plains, seas, and rivers, all

For what Huns' sake, and what place is better?

*— *Shall be in Huns' hands, O King.**

See *Procopius*, de *Edif.* l. ii. c. 11, p. 587, and the story of the Huns, who were sent by *Attila*, tom. ii. p. 123, of *Procopius*, p. 123, of *Procopius*. *Philosophus* O. D. in the same time, the Huns

CHAP.
XXIV.

They advanced, by a secret path, along the shores of the Caspian sea; traversed the snowy mountain of Armenia; passed the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Halys; recruited their weary cavalry with the generous blood of Cappadocian horses; occupied the hilly country of Cilicia, and disturbed the festal songs, and dances, of the citizens of Antioch. Egypt trembled at their approach; and the monks and pilgrims of the Holy Land prepared to escape their fury by a speedy embarkation. The memory of this invasion was still recent in the minds of the Orientals. The subjects of Attila might execute, with superior forces, the design which these adventurers had so boldly attempted; and it soon became the subject of anxious conjecture, whether the troupest would fall on the dominions of Rome, or of Persia. Some of the great vassals of the king of the Huns, who were themselves in the rank of powerful princes, had been sent to ratify an alliance and society of arms with the emperor, or rather with the general, of the West. They related, during their residence at Rome, the circumstances of an expedition, which they had lately made into the East. After passing a desert and a morass, supposed by the Romans to be the lake Moeris, they penetrated through the mountains, and arrived, at the end of fifteen days march, on the confines of Media: where they advanced as far as the unknown cities of Basie and Curzie. They encountered the Persian army in the plains of Media; and the air, according to their own ex-

pression, was darkened by a cloud of arrows. But the Huns were obliged to retire, before the numbers of the enemy. Their laborious retreat was effected by a different road; they lost the greatest part of their booty; and at length returned to the royal camp, with some knowledge of the country, and an impatient desire of revenge. In the first conversation of the imperial ambassadors, who discussed, at the court of Attila, the character and designs of their formidable enemy, the ministers of Constantinople expressed their hope, that his strength might be diverted and employed in a long and doubtful contest with the princes of the house of Sasan. The more sagacious Italians admonished their eastern brethren of the folly and danger of such a hope, and convinced them, that the Medes and Persians were incapable of resisting the arms of the Huns; and that the easy and important acquisition would exalt the pride, as well as power, of the conqueror. Instead of contenting himself with a moderate contribution, and a military title, which equalled him only to the generals of Theodosius, Attila would proceed to impose a disgraceful and intolerable yoke on the necks of the prostrate and captive Romans, who would then be recognised, on all sides, by the empire of the Huns.¹

While the powers of Europe and Asia were sollicitous to avert the impending danger, the alliance of Attila maintained the Vandals in the

CHAP.
XXIX.

They at-
tack the
western
empire,
A. D. 451.
&c.

¹ See the original negotiation in Pichon, p. 24, 25.

BRAY. possession of Africa. An enterprise had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, for the recovery of that valuable province; and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Theodosius. But the subtle Genseric, who spread his negotiations round the world, prevented their designs, by exciting the king of the Huns to invade the eastern empire; and a trifling incident soon became the motive or pretence, of a destructive war.* Under the faith of a treaty of Margus, a free market was held on the northern side of the Danube, which was protected by a Roman fortress, surnamed Constantia. A troop of barbarians violated the commercial security; killed, or dispersed, the unsuspecting traders; and levelled the fortress with the ground. The Huns justified this outrage as an act of reprisal; alleged, that the bishop of Margus had entered their territories, to discover and steal a secret treasure of their kings; and sternly demanded the guilty prelate, the sacrilegious spoil, and the fugitive subjects, who had escaped from the justice of Attila. The refusal of the Byzantine

* *Procopius*, p. 211. The history contained a curious and singular account of the war. *Procopius*, l. i. c. 11, 12, has the barbarians and Huns, as the Romans say, the only parts that have met in the field. The emperor says that otherwise, however he has written, from whom we borrow our names of Vandalia, Germania, Thuringia, Frisia, Alaudia, Frisia/Tyria, and the names of the Antiochians, or Persians, Persians, M. de Buth think the *Procopius* de l'Europe, but the story, has changed the names, the circumstances, and the direction of this war, and will not allow to be fitted beyond the rest that remained and here done.

court was the signal of war; and the Macedonians at first applauded the generous bravado of their sovereign. But they were soon intimidated by the destruction of Viminacium and the adjacent towns; and the people was persuaded to adopt the convenient maxim, that a private citizen, however innocent or respectable, may be justly sacrificed to the safety of his country. The bishop of Margus, who did not possess the spirit of a martyr, resolved to prevent the designs which he suspected. He boldly treated with the princes of the Huns; secured, by solemn oaths, his pardon and reward; posted a numerous detachment of barbarians, in silent ambush, on the banks of the Danube; and, at the appointed hour, opened, with his own hand, the gates of his episcopal city. This stratagem, which had been obtained by treachery, served as a prelude to more honourable and decisive victories. The Thyrrian frontier was covered by a line of castles and fortresses; and though the greatest part of them consisted only of a single tower, with a small garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel, or to intercept, the incursions of an enemy, who was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the delay, of a regular siege. But these slight obstacles were instantly swept away by the inundation of the Huns. They destroyed, with fire and sword, the populous cities of Sirmium and Singi-

* *Procopius, de bellis, l. ii. c. 10.* These fortresses were afterwards destroyed, razed to the ground, and nothing of the original fortification but the site was visible by the Huns, who destroyed the power and boundaries of the Huns.

and strange
Europe at
the be Com-
attempts

DEAR summit, of Ratiaria and Marcianopolis, of Ne-
ASST leasus and Sardica; where every circumstance, in
the discipline of the people, and the construction
of the buildings, had been gradually adapted to
the sole purpose of defence. The whole breadth
of Europe, as it extends above five hundred
miles from the Euxine to the Adriatic, was at
once invaded, and occupied, and desolated, by
the myriads of barbarians whom Attila led into
the field. The public danger and distress could
not, however, provoke Theodosius to interrupt
his amusements and devotion, or to appear in
person at the head of the Roman legions. But
the troops which had been sent against Genseric,
were hastily recalled from Sicily; the garrisons,
on the side of Persia, were exhausted; and a
military force was collected in Europe, formid-
able by their arms and numbers, if the generals
had understood the science of command, and
their soldiers the duty of obedience. The ar-
mies of the eastern empire were vanquished in
three successive engagements; and the progress
of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle.
The two former, on the banks of the Unus, and
under the walls of Marcianopolis, were fought
in the extensive plains between the Danube and
Mount Hæmus. As the Romans were pressed
by a victorious enemy, they gradually, and un-
skillfully, retired towards the Chersonesus of
Thrace; and that narrow peninsula, the last
extremity of the land, was marked by their third,
and irreparable, defeat. By the destruction of

this army, Attila acquired the indisputable possession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ, and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance, and without mercy, the provinces of Thracæ and Macedonia. Heraclea and Hadrianople might, perhaps, escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns: but the words, the most expressive of total extirpation and ravage, are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on seventy cities of the eastern empire.* Theodosius, his court, and the unwearied people, were protected by the walls of Constantinople: but those walls had been shaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The damage indeed was speedily repaired: but this accident was aggravated by a superstitious fear, that Heaven itself had delivered the imperial city to the shepherds of Scythia, who were strangers to the laws, the language, and the religion, of the Romans.*

In all their invasions of the civilized empires of the South, the Scythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a savage and destructive spirit. The laws of war that restrain the exercise

The Scythians, or
Feroes
were

* *Repetitiones civitatis supra Proper. Tychi depopulatione: respectu.* The language of Count Marcellinus is still more forcible. *Præterea totius Europæ, invidiosæ præcipue Christianis imperio, novitatis, incerta.*

* *Titellius* (Hist. de l'Empire, tom. vi, p. 106, 107) has paid great attention to this memorable earthquake: which was felt so far from Constantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is recorded by all the contemporary writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

CHAP. XXXI.
of national rapine and murder, are founded on two principles of substantial interest, the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be obtained by a moderate use of conquest; and a just apprehension, lest the desolation which we inflict on the enemy's country, may be retaliated on our own. But these considerations of hope and fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The Huns of Attila may, without injustice, be compared to the Moguls and Tartars, before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidences of oriental history may reflect some light on the short and imperfect annals of Rome. After the Moguls had subdued the northern provinces of China, it was seriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. The fierceness of a Chinese scholar,* who inculcated some principles of rational policy into the mind of Zengis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid design. But in the cities of Asia, which yielded to the Moguls, the inhuman abuse of the rights of war was exercised, with a regular

* He represented to the emperor of the Moguls, that the four provinces of Persia, Charkand, Chusan, and Iacutia, which furnished provisions, might amply produce, under a good administration, 200,000 mares of blood, 20,000 mules of war, and 200,000 pieces of silk. *Journal des Savants de l'Académie de Hongkong, p. 26.* The Tartar empire, such was the name of the monarchy, was a war and violence empire, where right was conquest, and conquest the property. See p. 102, 103.

CHAP.
XXIV.
.....

form of discipline, which may, with equal reason, though not with equal authority, be ascribed to the victorious Hann. The inhabitants, who had submitted to their discretion, were ordered to evacuate their houses, and to assemble in some plain adjacent to the city: where a division was made of the vanquished into three parts. The first class consisted of the soldiers of the garrison, and of the young men capable of bearing arms: and their fate was instantly decided: they were either enlisted among the Moguls, or they were massacred on the spot by the troops, who, with pointed spears and bended bows, had formed a circle round the captive multitude. The second class, composed of the young and beautiful women, of the artificers of every rank and profession, and of the more wealthy or honourable citizens, from whom a private ransom might be expected, was distributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whose life or death was alike useless to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city: which, in the meanwhile, had been stripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was imposed on those wretched inhabitants for the indulgence of breathing their native air. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls, when they were not conscious of any extraordinary vigour.* But the most casual provocation, the slightest motive, of surprise or convenience, often

* Particular instances would be tedious; but the events readily suggest themselves. See the life of Pompey, 2d. Part. &c. in Greek, the History of the Moguls, and the illustrious book of the History of the Moguls.

It may be affirmed, with bolder assurance, that the Huns depopulated the provinces of the empire, by the number of Roman subjects whom they led away into captivity. In the hands of a wise legislature, such an industrious colony might have contributed to diffuse, through the deserts of Scythia, the rudiments of the useful and benevolent arts; but these captives, who had been taken in war, were accidentally dispersed among the hordes, that obeyed the empire of Attila. The estimate of their respective value was formed by the simple judgment of unenlightened, and unprejudiced, barbarians. Perhaps they might not understand the merit of a theologian, profoundly skilled in the controversies of the Trinity and the Incarnation; yet they respected the ministers of every religion; and the pious zeal of the Christian missionaries, without approaching the person, or the policy, of the monarch, successfully laboured in the propagation of the gospel.* The pastoral tribes, who were ignorant of the distinction of landed property, would have disregarded the use, as well as the abuse, of civil jurisprudence; and the skill of an eloquent lawyer would excite only their contempt, or their abhorrence. The perpetual

CHAP.
XXIV.
continued
State of
the empire
under

* The conversion of the Goths had exerted great influence on the Scythians, who dwelt beyond the Danube, the border of the empire. Theodoret, l. v. c. 24. Procopius, p. 515. The Huns, the Franks, and the Lombards, thought themselves obliged of giving the same kind of presents of Alms, who turned the most barbarous into improved tribes.

† The Germans, the accomplished Varro and his disciples, had been particularly affected with the Roman laws and sciences. The

CHAP. XXXV.
intercourse of the Huns and the Goths had communicated the familiar knowledge of the two national dialects; and the barbarians were ambitious of conversing in Latin, the military idiom, even of the eastern empire.* But they disdained the language, and the sciences, of the Greeks; and the vain sophist, or gross philosopher, who had enjoyed the flattering applause of the schools, was mortified to find, that his robust servant was a captive of more value and importance than himself. The mechanic arts were encouraged and esteemed, as they tended to satisfy the wants of the Huns. An architect, in the service of Onegimus, one of the favourites of Attila, was employed to construct a bath; but this work was a rare example of private luxury: and the trades of the smith, the carpenter, the armourer, were much more adapted to supply a wandering people with the useful instruments of peace and war. But the merit of the physician was received with universal favour and respect: the barbarians, who despised death, might be apprehensive of disease; and the haughty conqueror trembled in the presence of a captive, to whom he ascribed, perhaps, an imaginary power, of prolonging, or

of the barbarians, who had collected provisions of sitting on the verge of an abscissa, and among his words, repeated, was much stronger, and the right hand of longer time. Plinius ii. 11.

* Plinius, p. 16. It should seem that the Huns preferred the Gothic and Latin languages to their own; where was probably much and better than.

preserving his life.* The Huns might be provoked to insult the misery of their slaves, over whom they exercised a despotic command; but their manners were not susceptible of a refined system of oppression; and the efforts of courage and diligence were often recompensed by the gift of freedom. The historian Priscus, whose testimony is a source of curious instruction, was abducted, in the camp of Attila, by a stranger, who saluted him in the Greek language, but whose dress and figure displayed the appearance of a wealthy Scythian. In the siege of Viminacium, he had lost, according to his own account, his fortune and liberty: he became the slave of Onogorus; but his faithful services, against the Romans and the Avars, had gradually raised him to the rank of the native Huns; to whom he was attached by the domestic pledges of a new wife and several children. The spoils of war had restored and improved his private property: he was admitted to the table of his former lord; and the apostate Greek blessed the hour of his captivity, since it had been the introduction to

* Philip the Emperor, is his accurate picture of the true manners of Lewis XI. (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. vi. c. 11.) He represents him (according to his physician, who, in five months, extracted 24,000 worms, and 2,000 halibuts, from the stern contracted trunk).

* Priscus (p. 41) relates the report of the Roman Senate, which permitted the use of a state. Oracles select large Trunks of the Hercules were designed as ornaments, and supports to rich, but lascivious, and cruel tyrants. He mentions Censorius in 41. The Dacians, who were the subjects of Attila, continued, and strengthened the power of 10th and 12th were their slaves. See a remarkable instance in the second Book of Agathang.

an happy and independent state; which he held by the honourable tenure of military service. This collection naturally produced a dispute on the advantages, and defects, of the Roman government; which was severely arraigned by the upright, and defended by Priests in a profuse and feeble declamation. The freedom of Cicero was exposed, in true and lively colours, the vices of a servile empire, of which he had so long been the victim; the cruel absurdity of the Roman princes, unable to protect their subjects against the public enemy, unwilling to trust them with arms for their own defence; the intolerable weight of taxes, rendered still more oppressive by the intricate and arbitrary modes of collection; the obscurity of numerous and contradictory laws; the tedious and expensive forms of judicial proceedings; the partial administration of justice; and the universal corruption, which increased the influence of the rich, and aggravated the misfortunes of the poor. A sentiment of patriotic sympathy was at length revived in the breast of the fortunate exile; and he lamented, with a flood of tears, the guilt or weakness of those magistrates, who had perverted the wisest and most salutary institutions.

1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581,

The timid, or selfish, policy of the western Powers had subjected the eastern empire to the *Yankus*. The loss of islands, and the want of

¹ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1959, 171: 1045-1048.

¹ "The Journal of the American Medical Association," 1910, 19, 1000.

discipline, or virtue, were not supplied by the person and character of the monarch. Theodosius might still affect the style, as well as the title, of *Invincible Augustus*; but he was reduced to solicit the clemency of Attila, who imperiously dictated these harsh and humiliating conditions of peace.

- I. The emperor of the East resigned, by an express or tacit convention, an extensive and important territory, which stretched along the southern banks of the Danube, from Singidunum, or Belgrade, as far as Novæ, in the district of Thracia. The breadth was defined by the vague computation of fifteen days journey; but, from the proposal of Attila, to remove the situation of the national market, it soon appeared, that he comprehended the ruined city of Naissus within the limits of his dominions.
- II. The king of the Huns required, and obtained, that his tribute or subsidy should be augmented from seven hundred pounds of gold to the actual sum of two thousand one hundred; and he stipulated the immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold to defray the expenses, or to expiate the guilt, of the war. One might imagine, that such a demand, which scarcely equalled the measure of private wealth, would have been readily discharged by the opulent empire of the East; and the public distress affords a remarkable proof of the impoverished, or at least of the disorderly, state of the finances. A large proportion of the taxes, extorted from the people, was detained and intercepted in their passage, through the foulest

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channels, to the treasury of Constantinople. The revenue was dissipated by Theodosius, and his favourites, in wasteful and profuse luxury; which was disguised by the names of imperial magnificence, or Christian charity. The immediate supplies had been exhausted by the unforeseen necessity of military preparations. A personal contribution, rigorously, but expensively, imposed on the members of the senatorian order, was the only expedient that could disarm, without loss of time, the impatient avarice of Attila; and the poverty of the nobles compelled them to adopt the scandalous resource of exposing to public auction the jewels of their wives, and the hereditary ornaments of their palaces.¹ III. The king of the Huns appears to have established, as a principle of national jurisprudence, that he could never lose the property, which he had once acquired, in the persons who had yielded either a voluntary, or reluctant, submission to his authority. From this principle he concluded, and the conclusions of Attila were irrevocable laws, that the Huns, who had been taken prisoners in war, should be released without delay, and without ransom; that every Roman captive, who had presumed to escape, should purchase his right to freedom at the price of twelve pieces of gold; and that all the barba-

¹ According to the description, in various instances of Ostrogoths, and others of Italian extraction, that these very people, as they rapidly became possessed a considerable stock of money, silver, such as, two pieces would scarcely buy, a piece of solid gold of the weight of four pounds, paper, &c. of the same metal, &c.

rius, who had deserted the standard of Attila, should be restored, without any promise, or stipulation, of pardon. In the execution of this cruel and ignominious treaty, the imperial officers were forced to massacre several loyal and noble deserters, who refused to devote themselves to certain death; and the Romans forfeited all reasonable claim to the friendship of any Scythian people, by this public confession, that they were destitute either of faith, or power, to protect the suppliants, who had embraced the throne of Theodasius.*

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continued

The fragment of a single town, so obscure, that, except on this occasion, it has never been mentioned by any historian or geographer, exposed the disgrace of the emperor and empire. Axiand, or Axiandrium, a small city of Thracia on the Myrian borders,† had been distinguished by the martial spirit of its youth, the skill and reputation of the leaders whom they had chosen, and their daring exploits against the numerous host of the barbarians. Instead of tamely re-

Spit of
the Am
monites

* The terms of the treaty, expressed without any shadow of promise, were to be found in Ptolemy, *l. vi. c. vii. c. viii. c. ix.* and Marcellinus expresses some doubts, by observing, *Id.* That he was himself witness of the peace and presents, which he had been nearly refused, *Id.* *Id.* They, that the same time, the ambassadors of Justin presented a few large tame lions to the emperor Theodasius.

† Ptolemy, *p. 33. 36.* Among the best and most agreeable spots or stations of Thracia, mentioned by Ptolemy and Marcellinus, *l. vi.* is Myrian, *l. vi. c. viii.* Further, there is one of five names of Kamnina, whose position is doubtless marked by the neighbourhood of Axiand, and the Euxine Sea. The name and walls of Axiandrium might sustain all the rage of Justinian; but the loss of its brave defenders had been necessarily necessary to the progress of the Roman power.

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perceiving their approach, the Asimuntines attacked, in frequent and successful sallies, the troops of the Huns, who gradually declined the dangerous neighbourhood; rescued from their hands the spoil and the captives, and recruited their domestic force by the voluntary association of fugitives and deserters. After the conclusion of the treaty, Attila still incensed the empire with implacable war, unless the Asimuntines were persuaded, or compelled, to comply with the conditions which their sovereign had accepted. The ministers of Theodosius confessed with shame, and with truth, that they no longer possessed any authority over a society of men, who so bravely asserted their natural independence; and the king of the Huns condescended to negotiate an equal exchange with the citizens of Asimunt. They demanded the restitution of some shepherds, who, with their cattle, had been accidentally surprised. A strict, though fruitless, inquiry was allowed; but the Huns were obliged to swear, that they did not detain any prisoners belonging to the city, before they could recover two adjoining countrymen, whom the Asimuntines had reserved as pledges for the safety of their lost companions. Attila, on his side, was satisfied, and deceived, by their solemn treacheration, that the rest of the captives had been put to the sword; and that it was their constant practice, immediately to dismiss the Romans and the deserters, who had obtained the security of the public faith. This prudent and officious dissimulation may be condemned, or excused, by the casuists, as they incline to the

rigid decree of St. Augustine, or to the milder sentiment of St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom: but every soldier, every statesman, must acknowledge, that, if the race of the Azimontines had been encouraged and multiplied, the barbarians would have ceased to trample on the majesty of the empire.*

It would have been strange, indeed, if Theodosius had purchased, by the loss of honour, a secure and solid tranquillity: or if his tameness had not invited the repetition of injuries. The Byzantine court was insulted by five or six successive embassies;† and the ministers of Attila were uniformly instructed to press the tardy or imperfect execution of the last treaty; to produce the names of fugitives and deserters, who were still protected by the empire; and to declare, with seeming moderation, that unless their sovereign obtained complete and immediate satisfaction, it would be impossible for him, were it even his wish, to check the resentment of his warlike tribes. Besides the motives of pride and interest, which might prompt the king of the Huns to continue this train of negotiation, he

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continued from

Embassies
from Attila to
Constantinople.

* The general dispute of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, who labour all, by different expedients, to reconcile the seeming quarrel of the two Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, occupies the substance of an important question, (Müller's Works, vol. ii. p. 270), which has been frequently agitated by scholastic and profane writers, and even by heretics and philosophers of every age.

† M. de Guignes (Mémoires sur le Commerce, &c. p. 114) has discovered, with a skill and taste which, none of the other writing commentators on the pills of Attila, and the sagacity of the Romans, he deserves the praise of having read the fragments of Cyprian, who have been too much disregarded.

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was influenced by the less honourable view of approaching his favourites at the expense of his enemies. The imperial treasury was exhausted, to procure the friendly offices of the ambassadors, and their principal attendants, whose favourable report might conduce to the maintenance of peace. The barbarian monarch was flattered by the liberal reception of his ministers; he computed with pleasure the value and splendour of their gifts, rigorously exacted the performance of every promise, which would contribute to their private amusement, and treated as an important business of state, the marriage of his secretary Constantinus.* That Gallic adventurer, who was recommended by Athas to the king of the Huns, had engaged his service to the ministers of Constantinople, for the stipulated reward of a wealthy and noble wife; and the daughter of Count Saturninus was chosen to discharge the obligations of her country. The reluctance of the victim, some domestic troubles, and the unjust confiscation of her fortune, cooled the ardour of her interested lover; but he still demanded, in the name of Attila, an equivalent alliance; and after many indignant delays and excuses, the Byzantine court was compelled to sacrifice to this haughty stranger the widow of Armatius, whose birth, splendour, and beauty, placed her in the most

* See Procopius, de BELL. G. L. c. 27. 28. I would have believed, that if a preference was afterwards attended by the ruler of Attila, on a more point of impossible preference; but Procopius (c. 27) has not plainly distinguished between the name of Constantinus, who, from the number of names of that name, might have been easily ascertained.

illustrious rank of the Roman senators. For these unfortunate and oppressive enthusiasts, Attila claimed a suitable return: he weighed, with suspicious pride, the character and station of the imperial envoys; but he condescended to promise, that he would advance as far as Sardica, to receive any ministers who had been invested with the consular dignity. The council of Theodosius eluded this proposal, by representing the desolate and ruined condition of Scythia; and even ventured to insinuate, that every officer of the army or household was qualified to treat with the most powerful princes of Scythia. Maximin,* a respectable courtier, whose abilities had been long exercised in civil and military employments, accepted with reluctance the troublesome, and, perhaps, dangerous commission, of reconciling the angry spirit of the king of the Huns. His friend, the historian Priscus,† embraced the opportunity of observing the barbarian hero in the peaceful and domestic scenes of life; but the secret of the

* In the Persian history concluded in the year 422, the wife and daughter of Maximin had both the names of Attilianus, Theoprotia and So. Upon Maxianus expelled the Goths, the office of great chamberlain was bestowed on Maximin, who is styled, in a passage which among the first principal measures of peace, (N. east. ant. tab. 3. ad. Theod. p. 215.) He securing a civil and military commission to the eastern provinces, and his death was followed by the escape of Attilius, whose intentions he had suspected. See Priscus, p. 60. 41.

† Priscus was a native of Thracia, and, according to his description, he flourished in the reign of the emperor of the age. His History, however, which related to his own times, and continued to several heads. See Priscus, *Historia*, *Constantin.* vi. p. 224, 225. Notwithstanding his charitable judgment of his country, I suspect that Priscus was a pagan.

CHAP. embassy, a fatal and guilty secret, was intrusted
XXXIV. only to the interpreter Vigilinus. The two last
ambassadors of the Huns, Orestes, a noble subject of the Pannonian province, and Edico, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of the Scyri, returned at the same time from Constantinople to the royal camp. Their obscure names were afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and the contrast of their sons: the two servants of Attila became the fathers of the last Roman emperor of the West, and of the first barbarian king of Italy.

The embassy of
Maximin
to Attila,
A. D. 448.

The ambassadors, who were followed by a numerous train of men and horses, made their first halt at Sardinia, at the distance of three hundred and fifty miles, or thirteen days' journey, from Constantinople. As the remains of Sardinia were still included within the limits of the empire, it was incumbent on the Romans to exercise the duties of hospitality. They provided, with the assistance of the provincials, a sufficient number of sheep and oxen; and invited the Huns to a splendid, or, at least, a plentiful supper. But the harmony of the entertainment was soon disturbed by mutual prejudice and indiscretion. The greatness of the emperor and the empire was warmly maintained by their ministers: the Huns, with equal ardour, asserted the superiority of their detestable monarch: the dispute was inflamed by the cold and insupportable flattery of Vigilinus, who passionately rejected the comparison of a mere mortal with the divine Theodosius; and it was with extreme difficulty that Maximin and Priscus

were able to divert the conversation, or to soothe the angry minds, of the barbarians. When they rose from table, the imperial ambassador presented Edecon and Orestes with rich gifts of silk robes and Italian pearls, which they thankfully accepted. Yet Orestes could not forbear insinuating, that he had not always been treated with such respect and liberality: and the offensive distinction which was implied, between his civil office and the hereditary rank of his colleague, seems to have made Edecon a doubtful friend, and Orestes an irreconcilable enemy. After this entertainment, they travelled about one hundred miles from Sardin to Naissus. That flourishing city, which had given birth to the great Constantine, was levelled with the ground: the inhabitants were destroyed or dispersed: and the appearance of some sick persons, who were still permitted to exist among the ruins of the churches, served only to increase the horror of the prospect. The surface of the country was covered with the bones of the slain; and the ambassadors, who directed their course to the north-west, were obliged to pass the hills of modern Servia, before they descended into the flat and marshy grounds, which are terminated by the Danube. The Huns were masters of the great river: their navigation was performed in large canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree: the ministers of Theodosius were safely landed on the opposite bank: and their barbarian associates immediately hastened to the camp of Attila, which was equally prepared for the amusements of

CHAP. hunting, or of war. No sooner had Maximian
 XXXIV. advanced about two miles from the Danube,
 than he began to experience the insidious in-
 sidence of the conqueror. He was sternly forbid-
 to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley; lest he
 should infringe the distant awe that was due to
 the royal mansion. The ministers of Atila pressed
 him to communicate the business, and the in-
 structions, which he reserved for the use of their
 sovereign. When Maximian temperately urged
 the contrary practice of nations, he was still more
 confounded to find, that the resolutions of the
 Sacred Consistory, those secrets (says Paganus)
 which should not be revealed to the goats them-
 selves, had been treacherously disclosed to the
 public enemy. On his refusal to comply with
 such ignominious terms, the imperial censor was
 commanded instantly to depart; the order was
 recalled; it was again repeated; and the Huns
 renewed their ineffectual attempts to subdue the
 patient firmness of Maximian. At length, by the
 intercession of Socrates, the brother of Orestes, whose
 friendship had been purchased by a liberal gift,
 he was admitted to the royal presence; but,
 instead of obtaining a decisive answer, he was
 compelled to undertake a remote journey to-
 wards the north, that Atila might enjoy the
 proud satisfaction of receiving, in the same camp,
 the ambassadors of the eastern and western em-
 perors. His journey was regulated by the guides,
 who obliged him to halt, to hasten his march, or
 to deviate from the common road, as it best suit-
 ed the convenience of the king. The Romans

who traversed the plains of Hungary, suppose that they passed several navigable rivers, either in canoes or portable boats: but there is reason to suspect, that the whirling stream of the Teyss, or Tithensis, might present itself in different places, under different names. From the contiguous villages they received a plentiful and regular supply of provisions: meat instead of wine, millet in the place of bread, and a certain liquor named *cynia*, which, according to the report of Priscus, was distilled from barley.* Such fare might appear coarse and indelicate to men who had tasted the luxury of Constantinople: but, in their accidental distress, they were relieved by the gentleness and hospitality of the more barbarians, so terrible and so merciless in war. The ambassadors had encamped on the edge of a large marsh. A violent tempest of wind and rain, of thunder and lightning, overturned their tents, immersed their baggage and furniture in the water, and scattered their retinue, who wandered in the darkness of the night, uncertain of their road, apprehensive of some unknown danger, till they awakened by their cries the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, the property of the widow of Bida. A bright illumination, and, in

* The Huns themselves will not seem to suppose the balance of commodities they demand the privilege of a continuous supply; and the Goths, under Valentinian's reign, who suffered the same disaster, that circumstance took place of its being a common custom. (Priscus, p. 410.) In the same manner the Huns and Goths, persuaded they were independent, and the king of the Huns, Priscus, took half his regular army with him. See the second History of the Huns, p. 485, 486, &c.

CHAS. a few moments, a comfortable fire of reeds, was
 XXIV. kindled by their officious benevolence: the wants,
 and even the desires, of the Romans were liberally
 satisfied: and they seem to have been embour-
 nished by the singular politeness of Bleda's widow, who
 added to her other favours the gift, or at least the
 loan, of a sufficient number of beautiful and ob-
 sequious damsels. The sunshine of the succeeding
 day was dedicated to repose; to collect and dry
 the baggage, and to the refreshment of the men
 and horses; but, in the evening, before they pur-
 sued their journey, the ambassadors expressed
 their gratitude to the bounteous lady of the vil-
 lage, by a very acceptable present of silver cups,
 red fleeces, dried fruits, and Indian pepper. Soon
 after this adventure, they rejoined the march of
 Atilla, from whom they had been separated
 about six days; and slowly proceeded to the ca-
 pital of an empire, which did not contain, in the
 space of several thousand miles, a single city.

The royal
 village and
 palace.

As far as we may ascertain the vague and ob-
 scure geography of Priscus, this capital appears
 to have been seated between the Danube, the
 Teyss, and the Carpathian hills, in the plains of
 Upper Hungary, and most probably in the neigh-
 bourhood of Jasterin, Agrie, or Tokay.* In

* It is evident, that Priscus passed the Danube and the Teyss, and
 that he did not reach the foot of the Carpathian hills. Agrie, Teyss,
 and Jasterin, are situated in the plain stream called by that name.
 H. de Saxe (*Histoire des Turcs*, &c. tom. vii. p. 467) has
 shown Tokay's situation, p. 180, and Mevius, p. 225, a learned
 Hungarian, has preserved Jasterin, a town about thirty-six miles
 westward of Buda and the Danube.

its origin it could be no more than an accidental camp, which, by the long and frequent residence of Attila, had insensibly swelled into a huge village, for the reception of his court, of the troops who followed his person, and of the various multitude of idle or industrious slaves and retainers.* The baths, constructed by Onegesius, were the only edifice of stone; the materials had been transported from Pannonia; and since the adjacent country was destitute even of large timber, it may be presumed, that the common habitations of the rural village consisted of straw, of mud, or of canvas. The wooden houses of the more illustrious clans, were built and adorned with more magnificence, according to the rank, the fortune, or the taste of the proprietors. They seem to have been distributed with some degree of order and symmetry; and each spot became more honourable, as it approached the person of the sovereign. The palace of Attila, which surpassed all other houses in his dominions, was built entirely of wood, and covered an ample space of ground. The outward inclosure was a lofty wall, or palisade, of smooth square timber, intersected with high towers, but intended rather for ornament than defence. This wall, which seems to

* The royal village of Attila may be compared to the city of Constantinople, the residence of the emperors of Europe, which, though it appears to have been a more public habitation, did not equal the size or splendour of the more paltry Abbey of St. Denis. In the last century, one Hieronymus, in the *Historia Universalis des Voyages*, tom. viii. p. 286. The camp of Attagoras, as it is so agreeably described by Strabo, tom. iv. p. 217-218, showed the numerous trophies with the singularities and luxury of Hædemon.

CHAP. have extended the desirability of a hall, comprehended a great variety of wooden edifices, adapted to the uses of royalty. A separate house was assigned to each of the numerous wives of Attila; and, instead of the rigid and illiberal confinement imposed by Asiatic jealousy, they politely admitted the Roman ambassadors to their presence, their table, and even to the freedom of an innocent embrace. When Maximian offered his presents to Cereia, the principal queen, he admired the singular architecture of her mansion, the height of the round columns, the size and beauty of the wood, which was richly shaped, or turned, or polished, or carved; and his attentive eye was able to discover some taste in the ornaments, and some regularity in the proportions. After passing through the guards who watched before the gate, the ambassadors were introduced into the private apartment of Cereia. The wife of Attila received their visit sitting, or rather lying, on a soft couch; the floor was covered with a carpet; the domestics formed a circle round the queen; and her damsels, seated on the ground, were employed in working the variegated embroidery which adorned the dress of the barbaric warriors. The Huns were addicted to displaying those riches which were the fruit and evidence of their victories: the trappings of their horses, their swords, and even their shoes, were studded with gold and precious stones; and their tables were profusely spread with plates, and golden, and cups of gold and silver, which had

been fashioned by the labour of Grecian artists. The monarch alone assumed the superior pride of still adhering to the simplicity of his Scythian ancestors*. The dress of Attila, his arms, and the furniture of his house, were plain, without ornament, and of a single colour. The royal table was served in wooden cups and platters; flesh was his only food; and the conqueror of the North never tasted the luxury of bread.

When Attila first gave audience to the Roman ambassadors on the banks of the Danube, his tent was surrounded with a formidable guard. The monarch himself was seated in a wooden chair. His stern countenance, angry posture, and impatient tone, astonished the envoys of Maximian; but Vigilus had more reason to tremble, since he distinctly understood the menace, that if Attila did not respect the law of nations, he would send the devoted interpreter to a cross, and leave his body to the vultures. The barbarian contradicted, by producing an accurate list, to expose the bold falsehood of Vigilus, who had affirmed that no more than seven thousand men could be found. But he arrogantly declared, that he apprehended only the disgrace of contending with his fugitive slaves; since he despised their impotent efforts to defend the provinces which Theodorus had entrusted to their arms;

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The tent
of Attila by
the Roman
ambassadors.

* When the Huns destroyed the walls of Rome, in the year of Rome, the houses of Rome were not covered with the richest
which the people, on which he had been raised, were he was raised
in the knowledge of the world's destruction. See the 14th century,
1174, 1175.

CHAP. "For what fortress," (asked Attila), "what city,
 XXXIV. "in the wide extent of the Roman empire, can
 "hope to exist, secure and impregnable, if it
 "is our pleasure that it should be erased from
 "the earth?" He dismissed, however, the in-
 terpreter, who returned to Constantinople with
 his peremptory demand of more complete res-
 titution, and a more splendid embassy. His an-
 ger gradually subsided, and his domestic satisfac-
 tion, in a marriage which he celebrated on the
 road with the daughter of Eudam, might perhaps
 contribute to mollify the native fierceness of his
 temper. The entrance of Attila into the royal
 village, was marked by a very singular cere-
 mony. A numerous troop of women came out
 to meet their hero, and their king. They marched
 before him, distributed into long and regular
 files; the intervals between the files were filled by
 white veils of thin linen, which the women on
 either side bore aloft in their hands, and which
 formed a canopy for a chain of young virgins,
 who chanted hymns and songs in the Scythian
 language. The wife of his favourite Onegesius,
 with a train of female attendants, saluted Attila
 at the door of her own house, on his way to the
 palace; and offered, according to the custom of
 the country, her respectful homage, by entreating
 him to taste the wine and meat, which she had
 prepared for his reception. As soon as the mo-
 narch had graciously accepted her hospitable gift,
 his domestics lifted a small silver table to a con-
 venient height, as he sat on horseback; and Attila,

when he had touched the goblet with his lips, again saluted the wife of Onogobius, and continued his march. During his residence at the seat of empire, his hours were not wasted in the reclusal idleness of a seraglio; and the king of the Huns could maintain his superior dignity, without concealing his person from the public view. He frequently assembled his council, and gave audience to the ambassadors of the nations: and his people might appeal to the supreme tribunal, which he held at stated times, and, according to the eastern custom, before the principal gate of his wooden palace. The Romans, both of the East and of the West, were twice invited to the banquets, where Attila feasted with the princes and nobles of Scythia. Maximin and his colleagues were stopped on the threshold, till they had made a devout libation to the health and prosperity of the king of the Huns; and were conducted, after this ceremony, to their respective seats in a spacious hall. The royal table and couch, covered with carpets and fine linen, was raised by several steps in the midst of the hall; and a son, an uncle, or perhaps a favourite king, were admitted to share the ample and homely repast of Attila. Two lines of small tables, each of which contained three or four guests, were ranged in order on either hand; the right was esteemed the most honourable; but the Romans ingenuously confess, that they were placed on the left: and that Heric, an unknown chieftain, most probably of the Gothic race, presided the representatives of Theodorus and Valen-

The royal
couch.

CHAP.
XXXIV.
Continued.

tionian. The barbarian monarch received from his cup-bearer a goblet filled with wine, and copiously drank to the health of the most distinguished guest: who rose from his seat, and expressed, in the same manner, his loyal and respectful vows. This ceremony was successively performed for all, or at least for the illustrious persons of the assembly: and a considerable time must have been consumed, since it was thrice repeated, as each course of service was placed on the table. But the wine still remained after the meat had been removed; and the Huns continued to indulge their intemperance long after the sober and decent ambassadors of the two empires had withdrawn themselves from the nocturnal banquet. Yet before they retired, they enjoyed a singular opportunity of observing the manners of the nation in their convivial amusements. Two Scythians stood before the couch of Attila, and recited the verses which they had composed, to celebrate his valour and his victories. A profound silence prevailed in the hall; and the attention of the guests was captivated by the vocal harmony, which revived and perpetuated the memory of their own exploits: a martial ardour shined from the eyes of the warriors, who were impatient for battle; and the tears of the old men expressed their generous despair, that they could no longer partake the danger and glory of the field. This entertainment, which might be

[If we may believe Orosius, *de Gestis Gothorum*, lib. vi. p. 114, it was the custom of the Scythians, when they dined in the presence of any noble, to perform three impromptu poems by the martial harmony of swelling their throats.]

considered as a school of military virtue, was exceeded by a farce that debased the dignity of human nature. A Moorish and a Scythian buffoon successively excited the mirth of the rude spectators, by their deformed figure, ridiculous dress, antic gestures, absurd speeches, and the strange unintelligible confusion of the Latin, the Gothic, and the Hunny languages; and the hall resounded with loud and licentious peals of laughter. In the midst of this intemperate riot, Attila alone, without a change of countenance, maintained his stedfast and indefeasible gravity: which was never relaxed, except on the entrance of Irum, the youngest of his sons; he embraced the boy with a smile of paternal tenderness, gently pinched him by the cheek, and betrayed a partial affection, which was justified by the assurance of his priests, that Irum would be the future support of his family and empire. Two days afterwards, the ambassadors received a second invitation: and they had reason to praise the politeness, as well as the hospitality, of Attila. The king of the Huns held a long and familiar conversation with Maximin; but his civility was interrupted by rude expressions, and laughly reproaches: and he was provoked, by a mixture of interest, to support, with unbecoming zeal, the private claims of his secretary Constantine. "The emperor," said Attila, "has long procured him a rich wife: Constantine must not be disappointed; nor should a Roman emperor deserve the name of liar." On the third day, the ambassadors

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continued

*If the
savage, but the
will be
able*

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were dismissed; the freedom of several captives was granted, for a moderate ransom, to their pressing relatives; and, besides the royal presents, they were permitted to accept from each of the Scythian nobles, the honourable and useful gift of a horse. Maximian returned, by the same road, to Constantinople; and though he was involved in an accidental dispute with Beric, the new ambassador of Attila, belaboured himself that he had contributed, by the laborious journey, to confirm the peace and alliance of the two nations.*

Conjecture
of the Ro-
mans
against the
fide of
Attila.

But the Roman ambassador was ignorant of the treacherous design, which had been concerted under the mask of the public faith. The surprise and satisfaction of Edecon, when he contemplated the splendour of Constantinople, had encouraged the interpreter Vigilius to procure for him a secret interview with the eunuch Chrysaphius,† who governed the emperor and the empire. After some previous conversation, and a mutual oath of secrecy, the eunuch, who had not, from his

* The ancient narrative of this embassy, which requires few observations, did not escape the vigilance of our historians, may be found in Palladius, p. 48, 50. But I have not consulted myself in the same order; and I had previously returned the ancient Greek version, which was less familiarly conversant with the journey, and behaviour, of the Roman ambassador.

† *De Palladius* has very properly given the surname of eunuch to Chrysaphius, who reigned in the name of Theodosius. Chrysaphius was the last, and according to the constant evidence of history, the worst of those favourites, who fill the Empires, from the 11th to the 15th c. See *Warton's Essay*, vol. iv. p. 115-116. *Warton's Essay*, vol. iv. p. 116. His partiality for his publisher, the Benedictine Porphyre, engaged him to peruse the original party.

own feelings or experience, imbibed any exalted notions of ministerial virtue, ventured to propose the death of Attila, as an important service, by which Edecon might deserve a liberal share of the wealth and luxury which he admired. The ambassador of the Huns listened to the tempting offer; and professed, with apparent zeal, his ability, as well as readiness, to execute the bloody deed; the design was communicated to the master of the officers, and the devout Theodosius consented to the assassination of his invincible enemy. But this perfidious conspiracy was defeated by the dissimulation, or the repentance, of Edecon; and, though he might exaggerate his toward abhorrence for the treason, which he seemed to approve, he dexterously assumed the merit of an early and voluntary confession. If we now review the eagerness of Maximin, and the behaviour of Attila, we must applaud the barbarian, who respected the laws of hospitality, and generously entertained and dismissed the minister of a prince who had conspired against his life. But the rashness of Vigilus will appear still more extraordinary, since he returned, conscious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp; accompanied by his son, and carrying with him a weighty purse of gold, which the favourite eunuch had furnished, to satisfy the demands of Edecon, and to corrupt the fidelity of the guards. The interpreter was instantly seized, and dragged before the tribunal of Attila, where he asserted his innocence with specious firmness, till the

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XXIV.
[continued]

His repre-
sents and
begins
the speech
on.

threat of inflicting instant death on his son, ex-
torted from him a sincere discovery of the crimi-
nal transaction. Under the name of ransom or
confiscation, the rapacious king of the Huns
accepted two hundred pounds of gold for the life
of a traitor, whom he disdained to punish. He
pointed his just indignation against a nobler
object. His ambassadors Eslaw and Orestes were
immediately despatched to Constantinople, with a
peremptory instruction, which it was much safer
for them to execute than to disobey. They boldly
entered the imperial presence, with the fatal purse
hanging down from the neck of Orestes; who
interrogated the eunuch Chrysaphius, as he stood
beside the throne, whether he recognised the evi-
dence of his guilt. But the office of reproof was
reserved for the superior dignity of his colleague
Eslaw, who gravely addressed the emperor of the
East in the following words.—“Theodosius is the
“son of an illustrious and respectable parent;
“Attila likewise is descended from a noble race;
“and he has supported, by his actions, the dig-
“nity which he inherited from his father Mund-
“rak. But Theodosius has forfeited his pater-
“nal honours, and, by consenting to pay tribute,
“has degraded himself to the condition of a
“slave. It is therefore just, that he should re-
“venge the man whom fortune and merit have
“placed above him; instead of attempting, like
“a wicked slave, clandestinely to conspire against
“his master.” The son of Arcadius, who was
accustomed only to the voice of flattery, heard

with astonishment the severe language of truth: he blushed and trembled; nor did he presume directly to refuse the head of Chrysaphius, which Eulaw and Orestes were instructed to demand. A solemn embassy, armed with full powers and magnificent gifts, was hastily sent to deprecate the wrath of Attila: and his pride was gratified by the choice of Nominus and Anastolus, two ministers of consular or patrician rank, of whom the one was great treasurer, and the other was master-general of the armies of the East. He condescended to meet these ambassadors on the banks of the river Dravos; and though he at first affected a stern and haughty demeanour, his anger was insensibly mollified by their eloquence and liberality. He condescended to pardon the emperor, the eunuch, and the interpreter; bound himself by an oath to observe the conditions of peace; released a great number of captives; abandoned the fugitives and deserters to their fate; and resigned a large territory to the south of the Danube, which he had already exhausted of its wealth and inhabitants. But this treaty was purchased at an expense which might have supported a vigorous and successful war; and the subjects of Theodosius were compelled to redeem the safety of a worthless favourite by oppressive taxes, which they would more cherrfully have paid for his destruction.

* This secret conspiracy, and its important consequences, being inserted in the fragments of Prætor, p. 21, 24, 28, 34, 39, 41, 42. The chronology of that narrative is not fixed by any positive date; but the

GRÆC.
XXIV.

Theodosius the Younger dies.
A. D. 410,
July 18.

The emperor Theodosius did not long survive the most humiliating circumstance of an inglorious life. As he was riding, or hunting, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he was thrown from his horse into the river Lycus: the spine of the back was injured by the fall; and he expired some days afterwards, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign.* His sister Pulcheria, whose authority had been controuled both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs by the pernicious influence of the eunuchs, was unanimously proclaimed empress of the East; and the Romans, for the first time, submitted to a female reign. No sooner had Pulcheria ascended the throne, than she indulged her own and the public resentment, by an act of popular justice. Without any legal trial, the eunuch Chrysaphius was executed before the gates of the city; and the immense riches which had been accumulated by the rapacious favourite, served only to hasten and to justify his punishment.† Amidst the general acclamations of the clergy and people, the empress did not forget the prejudice and disadvantage to which her sex was exposed; and she

the source of dissensions between Africa and the eastern empire, must be referred between the three or four years which are separated A. D. 401, by the death of Theodosius.

* Theodorus the Reader, and Valens Hist. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 387, and the Ecclesiastical History, mention the fall, without specifying the injury; but the consequence was so likely to happen, and so natural, as to be unnoted, that we may safely give credit to Nicephorus Callistus, a friend of the Theodosian family.

† Pulcheria with large Court attended every day, and received numerous petitions. She abandoned the custom of the place, an usage of a man, whose father had suffered at the same place.

wisely resolved to prevent their murmurs by the choice of a colleague, who would always respect the superior rank and virgin chastity of his wife. She gave her hand to Marcian, a senator, about sixty years of age, and the nominal husband of Pulcherianus solemnly invested with the imperial purple. The zeal which he displayed for the orthodox creed, as it was established by the council of Chalcedon, would alone have inspired the grateful eloquence of the catholics. But the behaviour of Marcian in a private life, and afterwards on the throne, may support a more rational belief, that he was qualified to restore and invigorate an empire, which had been almost dissolved by the successive weakness of two hereditary monarchs. He was born in Thrace, and educated to the profession of arms; but Marcian's youth had been severely exercised by poverty and misfortune, since his only resource, when he first arrived at Constantinople, consisted in two hundred pieces of gold, which he had borrowed of a friend. He passed nineteen years in the domestic and military service of Aspar, and his son Ardaburius; followed those powerful generals to the Persian and African wars; and obtained, by their influence, the honourable rank of tribune and senator. His mild disposition, and useful talents, without alarming the jealousy, recommended Marcian to the esteem and favour of his patrons: he had seen, perhaps he had felt, the abuses of a venal and oppressive administration; and his

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.....

and is not
recorded by
Mansu,
Aug. 21.

CHAP. own example gave weight and energy to the
 XXXIV. laws, which he promulgated for the reformation
 of manners.¹

¹ *Discours de M. de Vauvenargues*, l. i. c. 4. *Requies*, l. ii. c. 1. *Theophrastus*, p. 85, 86. *Scout*, ad *Colorem* *Lib. Theod.* *Ann.* xi. p. 38. The pieces which M. de La Harpe and the editors have inserted on *Marius*, are diligently translated by Racine, as we are informed by other pieces.

CHAP. XXXV.

Invasion of Gaul by Attila—He is repulsed by Aëtius and the Visigoths—Attila invades and conquers Italy—The deaths of Attila, Aëtius, and Valentinian III.

IT was the opinion of Marcian, that war should be avoided, as long as it is possible to preserve a secure and honourable peace; but it was likewise his opinion, that peace cannot be honourable or secure, if the sovereign betrays a possibleness of aversion to war. This temperate courage dictated his reply to the demands of Attila, who insidiously pressed the payment of the annual tribute. The emperor signified to the barbarians, that they must no longer insult the majesty of Rome by the mention of a tribute; that he was disposed to reward, with becoming liberality, the faithful friendship of his allies; but that, if they presumed to violate the public peace, they should feel that he possessed troops, and arms, and resolution, to repel their attacks. The same language, even in the camp of the Huns, was used by his ambassador Apollonius, whose bold refusal to deliver the presents, till he had been admitted to a personal interview, displayed a sense of dignity, and a contempt of danger, which Attila was not prepared to expect from the

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Attila
invades
Italy, and
conquers
it. A. D. 452.

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degenerate Romans." He threatened to chastise the rash successors of Theodosius; but he hesitated whether he should first direct his invincible arms against the eastern or the western empire. While mankind awaited his decision with awful suspense, he sent an equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople; and his ministers saluted the two emperors with the same haughty declaration. "Attila, my lord, and thy lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate reception." But as the barbarian despised, or affected to despise, the Romans of the East, whom he had so often vanquished, he soon declared his resolution of suspending the easy conquest, till he had achieved a more glorious and important enterprise. In the memorable invasions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were naturally attracted by the wealth and fertility of those provinces; but the particular motives and provocations of Attila, can only be explained by the state of the western empire under the reign of Valentinian, or, to speak more correctly, under the administration of Etius.

Character
and admin-
istration
of Etius.

After the death of his rival Boniface, Etius had prudently retired to the tents of the Huns;

* See Procop., p. 27, 22.

* The *Chronicon* or *Fasti* of Corippus, which introduces this unhappy marriage, during the reign of Theodosius, may have misrepresented the dates; but the full account was incapable of improving the vulgar and gross style of Attila.

* The second book of the *Historia Crispina de Franchimontibus de la Mémorable Francie*, &c. &c. p. 380-424, throws great light on the state of Gaul, when it was invaded by Attila; and the ingenious author, the Abbé Dour, has often bewitched himself in system and conjecture.

and he was indebted to their alliance for his safety and his restoration. Instead of the suppliant language of a guilty exile, he solicited his pardon at the head of sixty thousand barbarians; and the empress Placidia confessed, by a foolish resistance, that the condescension, which might have been ascribed to clemency, was the effect of weakness or fear. She delivered herself, her son Valentinian, and the western empire, into the hands of an insolent subject; nor could Placidia protect the son-in-law of Basiliscus, the virtuous and faithful Sebastian,* from the implacable persecution, which urged him from one kingdom to another, till he miserably perished in the service of the Vandals. The fortunate Aëtius, who was immediately promoted to the rank of patrician, and thrice invested with the honours of the consulship, assumed, with the title of master of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of the state; and he is sometimes styled, by contemporary writers, the Duke, or General, of the Romans of the West. His prudence, rather than his virtue, engaged him to leave the grandson of Theodosius in the possession of the purple; and Valentinian was permitted to enjoy the peace and

* *Veneri Veneris* the Perverse Vandal, &c. &c. p. 8, 1012. Notwithstanding, says another of extracts by Bédé (see his *ecclesiastical history*), when he became emperor, was crowned in Augustus (probably and because formerly, as stated, the epoch of princeps). *Antiqu. Apollon. Cassan.* II, 1872. His attentions to Constantinople, in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Africa, are faintly recorded in the *Chronicon* of Maximian and Isidorus. As the emperor, he was always followed by a numerous army; where he could engage the Huns and Franks, and save the city of Rome.

CHAP.
XXXV
A.D. 455-456

CHAP. luxury of Italy, while the patrician appeared in
 XXV. the glorious light of a hero and a patriot, who
 supported near twenty years the ruins of the
 western empire. The Gothic historian inge-
 nuously confesses, that Etius was born for the
 salvation of the Roman republic; and the fol-
 lowing portrait, though it is drawn in the fairest
 colours, must be allowed to contain a much larger
 proportion of truth than of flattery. " His
 " mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and his
 " father Gudentius, who held a distinguished
 " rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose
 " from the station of a military *domestic*, to the
 " dignity of master of the cavalry. Their son,
 " who was enrolled almost in his infancy in the
 " guards, was given as a *hostage*, first to Alaric,
 " and afterwards to the Huns; and he success-
 " fully obtained the civil and military honours
 " of the palace, for which he was equally qual-
 " ified by superior merit. The graceful figure
 " of Etius was not above the middle stature;
 " but his manly limbs were admirably formed
 " for strength, beauty, and agility; and he ex-
 " celled in the martial exercises of managing a
 " horse, drawing the bow, and darting the jav-
 " lin. He could patiently endure the want of
 " food or of sleep; and his mind and body were
 " alike capable of the most laborious efforts.
 " He possessed the genuine courage, that can
 " despise not only dangers but injuries; and it

* *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, Attilarum, et Eurichorum, auctore*
Frederico, Francigeno, illustrata notis, et additis rebus, auctore
Joanne Nieperio. Amstelredamum, in Editione tertiana, c. 14, p. 686.

"was impossible either to corrupt, or deceive, or intimidate, the firm integrity of his soul."

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The barbarians, who had seated themselves in the western provinces, were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valour of the patrician Ælius. He soothed their passions, consulted their prejudices, balanced their interests, and checked their ambition. A reasonable treaty, which he concluded with Genseric, protected Italy from the depredations of the Vandals; the independent Britons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid; the imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Sævi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confederates of the republic.

From a principle of interest, as well as gratitude, Ælius assiduously cultivated the alliance of the Huns. While he resided in their tents as a hostage, or an exile, he had familiarly conversed with Attila himself, the nephew of his benefactor; and the two famous antagonists appear to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpillio, the son of Ælius, in the camp of Attila. By the specious professions of gratitude

His connection
with the
Huns and
Attila.

[This passage is drawn by Huetius *Prodromus* *Epigraphicæ*, a contemporary historian, known only by some fragments, which are preserved by Gregory of Tours, *l. ii. c. 9*, in tom. *ii. p.* 123. It was probably the duty, as it had the interest, of Huetius, to supply the silence of Ælius; but he would have shown more candour, if he had not insinuated in his patient, *forgetting* ingratitude.]

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and voluntary attachment, the patrician might disguise his apprehensions of the Scythian conqueror, who pressed the two empires with his innumerable armies. His demands were obeyed or eluded. When he claimed the spoils of a vanquished city, some vases of gold, which had been fraudulently embedded: the civil and military governors of Noricum were immediately despatched to satisfy his complaints;* and it is evident, from their conversation with Maximin and Priscus, in the royal village, that the valour and prudence of Ælius had not saved the western Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy prolonged the advantages of a salutary peace; and a numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his person, was employed in the defence of Gaul. Two colonies of these barbarians were judiciously fixed in the territories of Valens and Orleans;† and their active cavalry secured the important

* The embassy consisted of Count Bassianus, of Pannonia, president of Noricum, and of Bassianus, the military date. They were accompanied by Tundius, an illustrious citizen of Vienna, in the same province, and sister of Gattus, who had married the daughter of Count Bassianus. See Priscus, p. 17, 63. Commodilla (Vitar. 1. 4) mentions another embassy, which was received by the father and daughter, the son of Ælius; and as AMAL was so busy, he could pay no heed of their meanly interested suitors. In the present case.

† Diversa Valentianis epist. cum Alani postulare transiitum. Pagan. Tyranni Clavis, in Heliogabali Epistola, tom. 1. p. 623. A few lines afterwards Priscus observes, that later in the same Gaul were lodged in the Alani. Without affecting the narration of Rufius, tom. 1. p. 105, the natural suggestion of two colonies of Germans of Alani, with useless, his arguments, and remove his objections.

passages of the Rhone and of the Loire. These savage allies were not indeed less formidable to the subjects than to the enemies of Rome. Their original settlement was enforced with the licentious violence of conquest; and the province through which they marched, was exposed to all the calamities of an hostile invasion.* Strangers to the emperor or the republic, the Alans of Gaul were devoted to the ambition of Attila; and though he might suspect, that, in a contest with Attila himself, they would revolt to the standard of their national king, the patrician laboured to restrain, rather than to excite, their zeal and resentment against the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks.

The kingdom established by the Visigoths in the southern provinces of Gaul, had gradually acquired strength and maturity; and the conduct of these ambitious barbarians, either in peace or war, engaged the perpetual vigilance of Attila. After the death of Wallia, the Gothic sceptre devolved to Theodoric, the son of the great

CRÆF.
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The Visigoths in Gaul under the reign of Theodoric vol. 4. p. 415-431.

* See Prosper: *Tyrus*, p. 638. *Salomon* (*Flavio*) *Arb.* 116: *compositus*, *et* *de* *hinc* *et* *Antiochia*, *hinc* *ad* *hinc* *venit*;

Adrianus *Sextus* *imperator* *hinc* *hinc* *venit*
Calpurnius *Armeniacus*, *Gallorum* *regibus* *et* *regibus*
Petrus *totius*, *Armeniacus*, *hinc* *hinc* *venit*
Diocletianus, *Armeniacus*, *hinc* *hinc* *venit*
Diocletianus *et* *hinc* *hinc* *venit*

Another *part*, *Proculus* *et* *Flavio*, *hinc* *hinc* *venit*.

hinc *hinc* *venit* *et* *hinc* *hinc* *venit*.

See *Diocletian* *hinc* *hinc* *venit*.

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Athric;¹ and his prosperous reign, of more than thirty years, over a turbulent people, may be allowed to prove, that his prudence was supported by uncommon vigour, both of mind and body. Impatient of his narrow limits, Theodoric aspired to the possession of Arles, the wealthy seat of government and commerce; but the city was saved by the timely approach of Etius; and the Gothic king, who had raised the siege with some loss and disgrace, was persuaded, for an adequate subsidy, to divert the martial valour of his subjects in a Spanish war. Yet Theodoric still watched, and eagerly seized, the favourable moment of renewing his hostile attempts. The Goths besieged Narbonne, while the Belgic provinces were invaded by the Burgundians; and the public safety was threatened on every side by the apparent union of the enemies of Rome. On every side, the activity of Etius, and his Scythian cavalry, opposed a firm and successful resistance. Twenty thousand Burgundians were slain in battle; and the remnants of the nation humbly accepted a dependant seat in the mount-

A. D. 411-
419.

¹ Theodoric II, the son of Theodoric I, declares in Arles his resolution of repairing or rebuilding the forum which his grandfather had constructed.

Ipse sacrum procerum arces, apertis foribus id iuvant.

Quod tu, Roms, optas.—

Waller, Parnassus, l. xiv. v. 461.

This character, applicable only to the great Monarch, constitutes the grandeur of the Gothic Kings, which has hitherto been unnoticed.

tains of Savoy.¹ The walls of Narbonne had been shaken by the battering engines, and the inhabitants had endured the last extremities of famine, when Count Litorius, approaching in silence, and directing each horseman to carry behind him two sacks of flour, cut his way through the intrenchments of the besiegers. The siege was immediately raised; and the more decisive victory, which is ascribed to the personal conduct of Etius himself, was marked with the blood of eight thousand Goths. But in the absence of the patrician, who was hastily summoned to Italy by some public or private interest, Count Litorius succeeded to the command; and his presumption soon discovered, that far different talents are required to lead a wing of cavalry, or to direct the operations of an important war. At the head of an army of Huns, he rashly advanced to the gates of Thoulouse, full of careless contempt for an enemy, whom his misfortunes had rendered prudent, and his situation made desperate. The predictions of the augurs had inspired Litorius with the profane confidence, that he should enter the Gothic capital in triumph; and the trust which he reposed in his pagan allies, encouraged him to reject the fair conditions of peace, which

¹ The name of *Agrippinus*, the origin of *Arroy*, is first mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus; and the military post, not distant from the Rhone, which the Gauls of that province (a subject was discussed at Narbonne in Dauphiné) and *Tharshimorus* or *Thoulon*, situated in that of south France, which constituted the bulk of *Neuchâtel*, the *Vallée de Saint-Sulpice*, p. 164. *Arroy* is the name of the *Charente* river, p. 291, 292.

CHAR. were repeatedly proposed by the bishops in the
XXX. name of Theodorik. The king of the Goths exhibited in his distress the edifying contrast of Christian piety and moderation: nor did he lay aside his sackcloth and ashes till he was prepared to arm for the combat. His soldiers, animated with martial and religious enthusiasm, assaulted the camp of Eitorius. The conflict was obstinate; the slaughter was mutual. The Roman general, after a total defeat, which could be imputed only to his unskillful rashness, was actually led through the streets of Thionow, not in his own, but in a hostile triumph: and the misery which he experienced, in a long and ignominious captivity, excited the compassion of the barbarians themselves.²⁸ Such a loss, in a country whose spirit and resources were long since exhausted, could not easily be repaired; and the Goths, assuming, in their turn, the sentiments of ambition and revenge, would have planted their victorious standards on the banks of the Rhone, if the presence of Aetius had not restored strength and discipline to the Romans.²⁹ The two armies expected the

²⁸ Aetius has attempted to explain the great government of the Huns; a task which may be easily performed by supposing, that the calamities of the whole are, judgements, and those of the right, which.

²⁹ ——— Caput terrarum domus patet.

Liber, in Rhodanus propius profectus fere,

Theodorik fere: et una pugna videtur,

sed in ipso fere: et in ipso fere.

Vener: quid vult de fere: et in ipso fere.

Inguit, ut vult de fere: et in ipso fere.

Vener: et in ipso fere.

signal of a decisive action; but the generals, who were conscious of each other's force, and doubtful of their own superiority, prudently sheathed their swords in the field of battle; and their reconciliation was permanent and sincere. Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, appears to have deserved the love of his subjects, the confidence of his allies, and the esteem of mankind. His throne was surrounded by six valiant sons, who were educated with equal care in the exercises of the barbarian camp, and in those of the Gallic schools: from the study of the Roman jurisprudence, they acquired the theory; at least, of law and justice; and the harmonious sense of Virgil contributed to soften the asperity of their native manners.* The two daughters of the Gothic king were given in marriage to the eldest sons of the kings of the Suevi and of the Vandals, who reigned in Spain and Africa; but these illustrious alliances were pregnant with guilt and discord. The queen of the Suevi bewailed the death of an husband, inhumanly massacred by her brother. The princess of the Vandals was the victim of a jealous tyrant, whom she called her father. The cruel Genseric suspected, that his

marked these principles, according to the copy of a postscript, &c. respecting the whole world from Africa to his ancient Africa.

* Theodoric's History is the basis of AFRICA, the character of his people.

— His Successors

From the present time, the empire is divided into

All the years, from the year of the present

From the year of the present time, the empire is divided into

From the year of the present time, the empire is divided into

These princes were elevated on a buckler, the symbol of military command; and the royal fashion of long hair was the ensign of their birth and dignity. Their flaxen locks, which they combed and dressed with singular care, hung down in flowing ringlets on their back and shoulders; while the rest of their nation were obliged, either by law or custom, to shave the hinder part of their head: to comb their hair over the forehead, and to content themselves with the ornament of two small whiskers. The lofty stature of the Franks, and their blue eyes, denoted a Germanic origin: their close apparel, accurately expressed the figure of their limbs; a weighty sword was suspended from a broad belt; their bodies were protected by a large shield; and these warlike barbarians were trained, from their earliest

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moment the Mississippi came within view, he turned, according to the beginning of the nineteenth century, as the distinctive expression of the royal family and state of the French monarch. An important note has indicated the Mississippi from the great Mississippi Indians and he has clearly proved, that the people who give names to the last river, was more correct than the father of Gulliver. See the Mississippi de Charlevoix and the Mississippi, Vol. IX, p. 25-26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 84

¹ This German student, who's name he learnt from Tietze in January of 1912, was of course brought by the courtesy of the *Zeitschrift*. From a MS. of the author's notes, Montanucci described the crystallization of a similar compound, which had appeared in the eyes and eyelids of Luigi Donati. The Montanucci is in *Monatsh. Chem.*, 1912, 43: 1189; *Monatsh. Phys. Chem.*

¹ *Chamaea picturata* (L.) Link. *Chamaea picturata* var. *longa* (L.) Link. has the greatest extent of the Hattian in France, and the Atlas de la Flore d'Algérie (vol. vi, p. 12, 1906). This present subspecies from Morocco has been found to be identical with the *Chamaea picturata* (L.) Link. from Algeria (vol. vi, p. 190, 1906) and by Gussone at Tunis, *Ann. Bot. Soc. Belg.* 24, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 256

CHAF.
XXXV.
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 youth, to run, to leap, to swim; to dart the
 javelin, or battle-axe, with unerring aim; to
 advance, without hesitation, against a superior
 enemy; and to maintain, either in life or death,
 the invincible reputation of their ancestors.
 Clodion, the first of their long-haired kings,
 whose name and actions are mentioned in authen-
 tic history, held his residence at Disparicum,* a
 village, or fortress, whose place may be assigned
 between Louvain and Brussels. From the report
 of his spies, the king of the Franks was informed,
 that the defenceless state of the second Belgic
 must yield, on the slightest attack, to the valour
 of his subjects. He boldly penetrated through
 the thickets and morasses of the Carbonarian for-
 est;† occupied Tournay and Chaulmoy, the only
 cities which existed in the fifth century, and ex-
 tended his conquests as far as the river Somme,
 over a desolate country, whose cultivation and
 populousness are the effects of more recent in-
 dustry.‡ While Clodion lay encamped in the

* See an original picture of this king, from 1116, and temple of
 the ancient Franks in William Apollonius, (Paganus), *Majestas*, 1226-
 1230) and such pictures, though somewhat incorrect, have a real and
 interesting value. *Tapisserie* (Paris) [Hist. de la Ville de France, tom. 1,
 p. 7-7] has illustrated the description.

† *Diction. Hist. Critique*, &c. tom. 1, p. 271, 272. Some geogra-
 phers suppose Disparicum to be the same as the Dispar on the side of the Rhine. See a
 note of the Benedictine Editors to the *Histories of France*, tom. 5,
 p. 126.

‡ The Carbonarian wood, was that part of the great forest of the
 Ardennes, which lay between the Sambre & Scheldt, and the Meuse.
Vallée Noire, vol. 2, p. 126.

* *Annales*, *Tapisserie*, CII. & N. de tom. 1, p. 196, 197. *Frédéric*,
Epitome, c. 8, p. 265. *Essai Reg. Français*, c. 2, in tom. II, p. 149.
 Vol. 22. *Recueil des Historiens*, in tom. III, p. 272.

plains of Artois,* and celebrated, with vain and ostentatious security, the marriage, perhaps, of his son, the nuptial feast was interrupted by the unexpected and unwelcome presence of Ætius, who had passed the Somme at the head of his light cavalry. The tables which had been spread under the shelter of a hill, along the banks of a pleasant stream, were rudely overturned: the Franks were oppressed before they could recover their arms, or their ranks; and their untravailing valour was fatal only to themselves. The loaded waggons, which had followed their march, afforded a rich booty; and the virgin bride, with her female attendants, submitted to the new lovers, who were imposed on them by the chance of war. This advantage, which had been obtained by the skill and activity of Ætius, might reflect some disgrace on the military prudence of Chlodion; but the king of the Franks soon regained his strength and reputation, and still maintained the possession of his Gallic kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme.† Under his

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——— *Francia and Chlodion* ———
Attributing *Ætius* *perfectionem* ———

Gregory, Majoran. 112.

The position upon which a sword, or village, called *Francia* *Artois*, and both the name and the place, are discovered by modern geographers at Tournay. See *Naxos, Nihil. Gall.* p. 166. *Longueville, Description de la France*, tom. II. p. 58.

* See a vague account of the battle on *Salomon*, *Gregory Majoran.* 112-113. The French critics, intent on establishing their superiority in youth, here draw a strong argument from the silence of *Salomon*, who draws up testimony, that the vanquished Franks were compelled to request the Rhine. *Duchet, Ann.* 4. p. 117.

CHAP. reign, and must probably from the enterprising
 XXV. spirit of his subjects, the three capitals, Mentz,
 Treves, and Cologne, experienced the effects of
 hostile cruelty and avarice. The distress of
 Cologne was prolonged by the perpetual domi-
 nion of the same barbarians, who evacuated the
 ruins of Treves; and Treves, which, in the space
 of forty years, had been four times besieged and
 pillaged, was disposed to lose the memory of her
 afflictions in the vain amusements of the Circus.*
 The death of Chlodion, after a reign of twenty
 years, exposed his kingdom to the discord and
 ambition of his two sons. Mercurius, the young-
 er, was persuaded to implore the protection of
 Rome; he was received at the imperial court, as
 the ally of Valentianus, and the adopted son of
 the patrician Kiles; and dismissed, to his native
 country, with splendid gifts, and the strongest
 assurances of friendship and support. During his
 absence, his elder brother had solicited, with
 equal ardour, the formidable aid of Attila; and
 the king of the Huns embraced an alliance, which

* *Salomon des Indes*, p. 175, expresses, in vulgar and
 indelicate language, the insolence of these barbarians, who
 are correctly represented by the learned Madox, *Hist. of the Ancient
 Germans*, iv. 21.

* *Palgrave*, in relating this incident, does not notice the true brethren;
 the period of whom he had seen at Rome, a few years ago, with
 long flowing hair, (Hickman of France, tom. v. p. 207, 208). The
Revue des Études are indebted to Hickman, that they were the kind
 of men and were king of the Franks, who reigned in the latter of
 the Merovingians; but the arguments of M. de Tassinari (*Mém. de
 l'Académie*, tom. viii. p. 167) seem to prove that the extinction of
 Chlodion was attended by his two sons; and that the emperor and
 Mercurius, the father of Childeric.

facilitated the passage of the Rhine, and justified, by a specious and honourable pretence, the invasion of Gaul.*

CHAP.
XXXV.
VALENTI-
NIANUS.

When Attila declared his resolution of supporting the cause of his allies, the Vandals and the Franks, at the same time, and almost in the spirit of romantic chivalry, the savage monarch professed himself the lover and the champion of the princess Honoria. The sister of Valentinian was educated in the palace of Ravenna: and as her marriage might be productive of some danger to the state, she was raised, by the title of *Augusta*,[†] above the hopes of the most presumptuous subject. But the fair Honoria had no sooner attained the sixteenth year of her age, than she detested the importunate greatness which must for ever exclude her from the comforts of domestic life: in the midst of vain and unsatisfactory pomp, Honoria sighed, yielded to the impulse of nature, and threw herself into the arms of her chamberlain Eugenius. Her guilt and shame (such is the absurd language of imperious man) were soon betrayed by the appearance of pregnancy: but the disgrace of the royal family was published to the world by the

The ad-
vantages
of the
princess
Honoria

* Under the Marcomannic war, the Rhine was hazardous; but all the laws of the Roman monarch were equally violated as other those of his treasury and jurisdiction. See the *Historiæ* of M. de Fontenay, in the sixth and eighth volumes of the *Mémoires de l'Académie*.

† A *Augusta* is not a title, which signifies the present correspondence of Honoria, with the title of *Augusta*; and on the reverse, the language legend of Saint Eusebius sends the manuscript of Flavius. See *Despatches, Facit. Revisions*, p. 67, 73.

CHAP. impudence of the empress Placidia; who detained her daughter, after a strict and shameful confinement, to a remote exile at Constantinople. **XXXV.**
The unhappy princess passed twelve or fourteen years in the irksome society of the sisters of Theodosius, and their chosen virgins; to whose cross Honoria could no longer aspire, and whose monastic assiduity of prayer, fasting, and vigils, she reluctantly imitated. Her impatience of long and hopeless celibacy, urged her to embrace a strange and desperate resolution. The name of Attila was familiar and formidable at Constantinople; and his frequent embassies entertained a perpetual intercourse between his camp and the imperial palace. In the pursuit of love, or rather of revenge, the daughter of Placidia sacrificed every duty and every prejudice; and offered to deliver her person into the arms of a barbarian, of whose language she was ignorant, whose figure was scarcely human, and whose religion and manners she abhorred. By the ministry of a faithful eunuch, she transmitted to Attila a ring, the pledge of her affection; and earnestly conjured him to claim her as a lawful spouse, to whom he had been secretly betrothed. These indecent advances were received, however, with coldness and disdain; and the king of the Huns continued to multiply the number of his wives, till his love was awakened by the more forcible passions of ambition and avarice. The invasion of Gaul was preceded, and justified, by a formal demand of the princess Honoria, with a just and

equal share of the imperial patrimony. His predecessors, the ancient Tanjouis, had often addressed, in the same hostile and peremptory manner, the daughters of China; and the pretensions of Attila were not less offensive to the majesty of Rome. A firm, but temperate, refusal was communicated to his ambassadors. The right of female succession, though it might derive a specious argument from the recent examples of Placidia and Pulcheria, was strenuously denied; and the indissoluble engagements of Honoria were opposed to the claims of her Scythian lover. On the discovery of her connexion with the king of the Huns, the guilty princess had been sent away, as an object of horror, from Constantinople to Italy; her life was spared; but the ceremony of her marriage was performed with some obscure and nominal husband, before she was immured in a perpetual prison, to bewail those crimes and misfortunes, which Honoria might have escaped, had she not been born the daughter of an emperor.*

A native of Gaul, and a contemporary, the learned and eloquent Sidonius, who was after-

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—————

still ac-
cusing
Gaul, and
honouring
Goths.

* See Ptolemy, p. 22, l. 4. It might be easily alleged, that if the nation could descend to the throne, Valentinian himself, who had married the daughter and heiress of his younger Theodosius, could have asserted his right in the western empire.

* The adventures of Honoria are independently related by Ammianus, de Herculiana, l. vi. c. 37, and de R. G. c. 25, p. 574; and in the Chronicle of Prosper and Marcellinus; but they cannot be easily reconciled, or probably, unless we suppose, by the removal of Attila and pluck her language with English, and her intention of Attila.

CHAP. XXY.
A. D. 452. words Bishop of Clermont, had made a promise to one of his friends, that he would compose a regular history of the war of Attila. If the modesty of Sidonius had not discouraged him from the prosecution of this interesting work,² the historian would have related, with the simplicity of truth, those memorable events, to which the poet, in vague and doubtful metaphors, has concisely alluded.³ The kings and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike summons of Attila. From the royal village, in the plains of Hungary, his standard moved towards the West: and, after a march of seven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Neckar; where he was joined by the Franks, who adhered to his ally, the elder of the sons of Chlodua. A troop of light barbarians, who roamed in quest of plunder, might choose the winter for the convenience of passing the river

² Eusebius tells, in preface to his *Attila* history, that he was prevented by the death of his friend, Sidonius, from completing his work. Sidonius, *Epist.* v. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

³ Sidonius tells, in preface to his *Attila* history, that he was prevented by the death of his friend, Sidonius, from completing his work. Sidonius, *Epist.* v. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

CHAP.
XXV.
Continued.

on the ice; but the innumerable cavalry of the Huns required such plenty of forage and provisions, as could be procured only in a winter season; the Hercynian forest supplied materials for a bridge of boats; and the hostile myriads were poured, with resistless violence, into the Belgic provinces.* The consternation of Gaul was universal; and the various fortunes of its cities have been adorned by tradition with martyrdoms and miracles.† Troyes was saved by the merits of St. Lupus; St. Servatius was removed from the world, that he might not behold the ruin of Tongres; and the prayers of St. Genesieve diverted the march of Attila from the neighbourhood of Paris. But as the greatest part of the Gallic cities were alike destitute of walls and soldiers, they were besieged and stormed by the Huns: who practised, in the example of

* The most authentic and circumstantial account of this war, is contained in *Jeromus, de Rebus Illustribus*, c. 36, 37, p. 565, 571, who has sometimes enlarged, and sometimes transmitted, the antiquity of *Onobrotas*. *Jeromus*, a person in which it would be superfluous to repeat, may be corrected and illustrated by Gregory of Tours, *l. i. c. 3, 6, 7*, and the *Chronicle of Adair*, *l. 10*, and the two *Prologs*. All the ancient historians are collected and inserted in the *Histories of France*; but the reader should be instructed, against a supposition against from the *Chronicle of Morien*, concerning the fragments of *Procopius*, *tom. ii. p. 466*, which often contradicts the genuine text of the Gallician history.

† The ancient legends of *Amiens* have expired, so they are omitted in modern epics; follow the real history of that town, namely, for the story of St. Lupus, St. Adair, the history of *Metz*, 87, *Genevieve*, &c. in the *Histories of France*, *tom. i. p. 544, 545, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552*.

CHAP. Metæ,² their customary maxims of war. They
 XXXV. involved, in a promiscuous massacre, the priests
 who served at the altar, and the infants, who,
 in the hour of danger, had been providently bap-
 tized by the bishop: the flourishing city was
 delivered to the flames, and a solitary chapel of
 St. Stephen marked the place where it formerly
 stood. From the Rhine and the Moselle, Attila
 advanced into the heart of Gaul; crossed the Seine
 at Auxerre; and, after a long and laborious
 march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans.
 He was desirous of securing his conquests by the
 possession of an advantageous post, which com-
 manded the passage of the Loire; and he de-
 pended on the secret invitation of Sangiban, king
 of the Alani, who had promised to betray the
 city, and to revolt from the service of the em-
 pire. But this treacherous conspiracy was detected
 and disappointed: Orleans had been strengthened
 with recent fortifications; and the assaults of
 the Huns were vigorously repelled by the faith-
 ful valour of the soldiers, or citizens, who de-
 fended the place. The pastoral diligence of

* The supposition of the Count de Buis (Mém. des Français, tom. vii. p. 229, 230) cannot be reconciled with any principles of justice or equity. To set Gregory of Tours private and positive in his account of the dominion of Metæ? At the distance of six miles from the supposed scene, could he be ignorant, could the people be ignorant, of the fate of a city, the actual residence of his sovereign, the king of Austrasia? The Council of Metz, who seem to have under-
 taken the apology of Attila, and the historians, especially the false
 Hado, pursue consistent evasions of Gallus, and Gregory, that
 the true Huns had explicitly offered, previous to their march,
 strong and solemn assurances of peace.

Anianus, a bishop of primitive sanctity and consummate prudence, exhorted every art of religious policy to support their courage, till the arrival of the expected succours. After an obstinate siege, the walls were shaken by the battering rams; the Huns had already occupied the suburbs; and the people, who were incapable of bearing arms, lay prostrate in prayer. Anianus, who unceasingly counted the days and hours, despatched a trusty messenger to observe, from the rampart, the face of the distant country. He returned twice, without any intelligence, that could inspire hope or comfort: but, in his third report, he mentioned a small cloud, which he had faintly descried at the extremity of the horizon. "It is the aid of God!" exclaimed the bishop, in a tone of pious confidence; and the whole multitude repeated after him,—"It is the aid of God." The remote object, on which every eye was fixed, became each moment larger, and more distinct; the Roman and Gothic banners were gradually perceived; and a favourable wind blowing aside the dust, discovered, in deep array, the impatient squabrons of Ethas and Theoderic, who pressed forwards to the relief of Orleans.

The facility with which Attila had penetrated into the heart of Gaul, may be ascribed to his insidious policy, as well as to the terror of his arms. His public declarations were skillfully mitigated by his private assurances; he alternately soothed and threatened the Romans and the Goths; and the courts of Ravenna and Thoulouse, mutually suspicious of each other's inten-

Attacks
of the Huns
on the
Romans.

CHAP. times, beheld, with supine indifference, the ap-
 XXXV. proach of their common enemy. Aetius was the
 sole guardian of the public safety: but his wisest
 measures were embarrassed by a faction, which,
 since the death of Placidia, infested the imperial
 palace: the youth of Italy trembled at the sound
 of the trumpet: and the barbarians, who from
 fear or affection, were inclined to the cause of
 Attila, awaited, with doubtful and venal faith,
 the event of the war. The patrician passed the
 Alps at the head of some troops, whose strength
 and numbers scarcely deserved the name of an
 army.* But on his arrival at Arles, or Lyons,
 he was confounded by the intelligence, that the
 Visigoths, refusing to embrace the defence of
 Gaul, had determined to expect, within their own
 territories, the formidable invader, whom they
 professed to despise. The senator Avitus, who,
 after the honorable exercise of the pretorian pre-
 fecture, had retired to his estate in Auvergne,
 was persuaded to accept the important embassy,
 which he executed with ability and success. He
 represented to Theodoric, that an ambitious con-
 queror, who aspired to the dominion of the earth,
 could be resisted only by the firm and multi-
 tude alliance of the powers whom he laboured
 to oppress. The lively eloquence of Avitus in-
 flamed the Gothic warriors, by the description of

* *Vix superat Alpes*

Aetius, rex, et Arles, non longe abest

Arles, in castris Aetiani non remote situm

Dominus propriis praesens abesse putat

Caesary, Ann. 7th, c.

the injuries which the transcarthians had suffered from the Huns; whose implacable fury still pursued them from the Danube to the foot of the Pyrenees. He strenuously urged, that it was the duty of every Christian to avert, from sacrilegious violation, the churches of God, and the relics of the saints: that it was the interest of every barbarian, who had acquired a settlement in Gaul, to defend the fields and vineyards, which were cultivated for his use, against the desolation of the Scythian shepherds. Theodoric yielded to the evidence of truth; adopted the measure at once the most prudent and the most honourable; and declared, that as the faithful ally of Etius and the Romans, he was ready to expose his life and kingdom for the common safety of Gaul.* The Visigoths, who, at that time, were in the mature vigour of their fame and power, obeyed with alacrity the signal of war: prepared their arms and horses, and assembled under the standard of their aged king, who was resolved, with his two eldest sons, Torismund and Theodoric, to command in person his numerous and valiant people. The example of the Goths determined several tribes or nations, that seemed to fluctuate between the Huns and the Romans. The indefatigable diligence of the patri-

* The story of Etius, of Etius, and of the Visigoths is imperfectly described in the Panegyric of Avitus, and the History of Gregory of Nazianzen. The great and the famous were both misled by personal or national prejudices. The former exalts the merit and importance of Avitus; while Avitus, since, does. The latter is anxious to show the Goths in the most favourable light. Yet their agreement, while they are fairly interpreted, is a good at their society.

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gradually collected the troops of Gaul and Germany, who had formerly acknowledged themselves the subjects, or soldiers, of the republic, but who now claimed the rewards of voluntary service, and the rank of independent allies; the Lethi, the Ambrivari, the Breucres, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Sarmatians, or Alani, the Ripuarians, and the Franks who followed Meroveus as their lawful prince. Such was the variegated army, which, under the conduct of Arius and Theodoric, advanced, by rapid marches, to relieve Odoacer, and to give battle to the innumerable host of Attila.^b

Attila retreated to the plains of Châlons, where he was defeated.

On their approach, the king of the Huns immediately raised the siege, and sounded a retreat to rival the firebrand of his troops from the pillage of a city which they had already captured.^c The valor of Attila was always guided by his prudence; and as he foresaw the fatal consequences of a defeat in the heart of Gaul, he retraced the Seine, and expected the enemy in the plains of Châlons, whose smooth and level

^a The position of the army of Attila is made by Jornandes, p. 104, 105, Mont. tom. ii. p. 22, of the *Historians of France*, with the notice of the Breucres written. The Lethi were a prominent tribe of Frisians, both as mentioned in Gaul; and the Ripuarians, distinct from those from their posts on the three rivers, the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse; the Ambrivari possessed the important cities between the Rhine and the Lake. A colony of Saxons had been planted in the district of Bayeux; the Burgundians were settled in Brittany; and the Sarmatians were a warlike tribe of Gothians, in the east of the lake of Constance.

^b Theodoricus et alii Gothi, oppugnantes, acceptis, non deserpentes. *Idem*, *Agrippa*, l. vi. cap. lvi. p. 286. The penetration of Odoacer might be easily aided from Britain, Ireland, and even Italy, by the holy Father.

surface was adapted to the operations of his Scythian cavalry. But in this tumultuary retreat, the vanguard of the Romans, and their allies, continually pressed, and sometimes engaged, the troops whom Attila had posted in the rear: the hostile columns, in the darkness of the night, and the perplexity of the roads, might encounter each other without design; and the bloody conflict of the Franks and Gepidae, in which fifteen thousand barbarians were slain, was a prelude to a more general and decisive action. The Catalaunian fields* spread themselves round Châlons, and extend, according to the vague measurement of Jornandes, to the length of one hundred and fifty, and the breadth of one hundred, miles, over the whole province, which is entitled to the appellation of a *champaign* country.† This spacious plain was distinguished, however, by some inequalities of ground; and the importance of an height, which commanded the camp of Attila, was understood, and disputed, by the two generals. The young and valiant Torismund first occupied the summit; the Goths rushed with irresistible weight on the Huns, who

* The common edition reads *VEN*; but *VEN* is more authority of manuscripts (and almost any authority is sufficient) for the more reasonable reading of *VENA*.

† Châlons, or *Divodurum*, afterwards *Combray*, had formerly made a part of the territory of Rheims, from whence it is distant only twenty-seven miles. See Valer. Max. Gall. p. 126. *DE ARDURA*, Notus de *Francorum* Geogr. p. 111, 112.

* The name of *Campania*, or *Campania*, is frequently mentioned by Diodorus of Sicily; and that great province, of which Rheims was the eastern verge, the compass of 4 miles. Valer. Max. p. 126, 127.

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laboured to ascend from the opposite side; and the possession of this advantageous post inspired both the troops and their leaders with a fair assurance of victory. The anxiety of Attila prompted him to consult his priests and haruspices. It was reported, that after scrutinizing the entrails of victims, and scraping their bones, they revealed, in mysterious language, his own defeat, with the death of his principal adversary; and that the barbarian, by accepting the equivocal, expressed his involuntary esteem for the superior merit of Ælius. But the unusual despondency, which seemed to prevail among the Huns, engaged Attila to use the expedient, so familiar to the generals of antiquity, of animating his troops by a military oration; and his language was that of a king, who had often fought and conquered at their head.* He pressed them to consider their past glory, their actual danger, and their future hopes. The same fortune, which opened the deserts and morasses of Scythia to their unarmed valour, which had laid so many warlike nations prostrate at their feet, had reserved the joys of this memorable field for the consummation of their victories. The cautious steps of their enemies, their strict alliance, and their advantageous posts, he artfully represented as the effects, not of prudence, but

* I am sensible this short military oration, so handsly composed by the historian; yet the old Onogobites, who had served under Attila, might expect too likewise to consider: The issue, yet more the expectations. Have an original Scythian entry and I doubt whether no traces of the weak oratory would have thought of, yet kept immemorially fresh.

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of fear. The Visigoths alone were the strength and nerves of the opposite army; and the Huns might securely trample on the degenerate Romans, whose close and compact order betrayed their apprehensions, and who were equally incapable of supporting the dangers, or the fatigues, of a day of battle. The doctrine of predestination, so favourable to martial virtue, was carefully inculcated by the king of the Huns; who assured his subjects, that the warriors, protected by Heaven, were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy; but that the unerring Fates would strike their victims in the bosom of inglorious peace. "I myself," continued Attila, "will throw the first javelin; and the wretch who refuses to imitate the example of his sovereign, is devoted to inevitable death." The spirit of the barbarians was rekindled by the presence, the voice, and the example, of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head of his brave and faithful Huns, he occupied in person the centre of the line. The nations subject to his empire, the Rugians, the Heruli, the Thuringians, the Franks, the Burgundians, were extended, on either hand, over the ample space of the Catalaunian fields; the right wing was commanded by Ardaric, king of the Gepids; and the three valliant brothers, who reigned over the Ostrogoths, were posted on the left, to oppose the kindred tribes of the Visigoths. The disposition of the allies was regulated by a different principle. Sangiban, the faithless king of

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the Alani, was placed in the centre: where his motions might be strictly watched, and his treachery might be instantly punished. Atius assumed the command of the left, and Theodoric of the right, wing; while Torismund still continued to occupy the heights which appear to have stretched on the flank, and perhaps the rear, of the Scythian army. The nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were assembled on the plain of Châlons; but many of these nations had been divided by faction, or conquest, or emigration; and the appearance of similar arms and ensigns, which threatened each other, presented the image of a civil war.

* Battle of
Châlons.

The discipline and tactics of the Greeks and Romans form an interesting part of their national manners. The attentive study of the military operations of Xenophon, or Cæsar, or Frederic, when they are described by the same genius which conceived and executed them, may tend to improve (if such improvement can be wished) the art of destroying the human species. But the battle of Châlons can only excite our curiosity by the magnitude of the object: since it was decided by the blind impetuosity of barbarians, and has been related by partial writers, whose civil or ecclesiastical profession secluded them from the knowledge of military affairs. Cassiodorus, however, had familiarly conversed with many Gothic warriors, who served in that memorable engagement: "a conflict," he then informed him, "fierce, various, obstinate, and bloody: such as could not be paralleled, either in the pre-

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"sent, or in past ages." The number of the slain amounted to one hundred and sixty-two thousand, or, according to another account, three hundred thousand persons,* and these incredible exaggerations suppose a real and effective loss, sufficient to justify the historian's remark, that whole generations may be swept away, by the madness of kings, in the space of a single hour. After the mutual and repeated discharge of missile weapons, in which the archers of Scythia might signalize their superior dexterity, the cavalry and infantry of the two armies were furiously mingled in closer combat. The Huns, who fought under the eyes of their king, pierced through the feeble and doubtful centre of the allies, separated their wings from each other, and wheeling, with a rapid effort, to the left, directed their whole force against the Visigoths. As Theodoric rode along the ranks, to animate his troops, he received a mortal stroke from the javelin of Andages, a noble Ostrogoth, and immediately fell from his horse. The wounded king was oppressed in the general disorder, and trampled under the feet of his own cavalry; and this important death served to explain the ambiguous prophecy of the haruspices. Attila already ex-

* The exaggeration of Ammianus, as well as of Cassiodorus, are extremely strong. *Bellice circa, multitudine, immenso, perituro, et cum tota virgine sacra, participans, ad hoc quod circumfusus, et nihil mansurus, et cum eis complens, pervenit, egredens, qui leges universas preceperat, egredi.* *Deus (Hinc. Gregory, lib. 4, p. 275, 276) attempts to reconcile the 162,000 of Ammianus with the 300,000 of Cassiodorus and Isidore, by supposing, that the latter number contained the total destruction of the war, the effects of disease, the slaughter of the unarmed people, &c.*

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ulted in the confidence of victory, when the valiant Torismond descended from the hills, and verified the remainder of the prediction. The Visigoths, who had been thrown into confusion by the flight, or defection, of the Alani, gradually restored their order of battle; and the Huns were undoubtedly vanquished, since Attila was compelled to retreat. He had exposed his person with the rashness of a private soldier; but the intrepid troops of the centre had pushed forwards beyond the rest of the line; their attack was faintly supported; their flanks were unguarded; and the conquerors of Scythia and Germany were saved by the approach of the night from a total defeat. They retired within the circle of waggons that fortified their camp; and the dismounted squadrons prepared themselves for a defence, to which neither their arms, nor their temper, were adapted. The event was doubtful: but Attila had secured a last and honourable resource. The saddles and rich furniture of the cavalry were collected by his order, into a funeral pile; and the magnanimous barbarian had resolved, if his intrenchments should be forced, to rush headlong into the flames, and to deprive his enemies of the glory which they might have acquired, by the death or captivity of Attila.*

* The Count de Buat (Hist. des Persians, &c. tom. vii. p. 224-225), still depending on the fable, and again rejecting the real tradition, has divided the defeat of Attila into two great battles; the former near Orleans, the latter in Champagne; in the last, Thorismond was slain; in the other he was conveyed.

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Attila.

But his enemies had passed the night in equal disorder and anxiety. The inconsiderate courage of Thorismund was tempted to urge the pursuit, till he unexpectedly found himself, with a few followers, in the midst of the Scythian waggons. In the confusion of a nocturnal combat, he was thrown from his horse, and the Gothic prince must have perished like his father, if his youthful strength, and the intrepid zeal of his companions, had not rescued him from this dangerous situation. In the same manner, but on the left of the line, Ekins himself, separated from his allies, ignorant of their victory, and anxious for their fate, encountered and overcame the hostile troops, that were scattered over the plains of Chalons; and at length reached the camp of the Goths, which he could only fortify with a slight rampart of shields, till the dawn of day. The imperial general was soon satisfied of the defeat of Attila, who still remained inactive within his intrenchments; and when he contemplated the bloody scene, he observed, with secret satisfaction, that the loss had principally fallen on the barbarians. The body of Theodoric, pierced with honourable wounds, was discovered under a heap of the slain: his subjects bewailed the death of their king and father; but their tears were mingled with songs and acclamations, and his funeral rites were performed in the face of a vanquished enemy. The Goths, clashing their arms, elevated on a buckler his eldest son Thorismund, to whom they justly ascribed the glory of their success; and the new king accepted the obligation of

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revenge, at a sacred portion of his paternal inheritance. Yet the Goths themselves were astonished by the fierce and undaunted aspect of their formidable antagonist; and their historian has compared Attila to a lion encompassed in his den, and threatening his hunters with redoubled fury. The kings and nations, who might have deserted his standard in the hour of distress, were made sensible, that the displeasure of their monarch was the most imminent and inevitable danger. All his instruments of martial music incessantly sounded a loud and animating strain of defiance; and the foremost troops, who advanced to the assault, were checked, or destroyed, by showers of arrows from every side of the intrenchments. It was determined, in a general council of war, to besiege the king of the Huns in his camp, to intercept his provisions, and to reduce him to the alternative of a disgraceful treaty, or an unequal combat. But the impatience of the barbarians soon disdained these cautious and dilatory measures; and the mature policy of Attila was apprehensive, that, after the extirpation of the Huns, the republic would be oppressed by the pride and power of the Gothic nation. The patrician exerted the superior ascendant of authority and reason, to calm the passions, which the son of Theodoric considered as a duty; represented, with seeming affection, and real truth, the dangers of absence and delay; and persuaded Thorismund to disappoint, by his speedy return, the ambitious designs of his brothers, who might occupy the throne and treasures of The-

leaves.² After the departure of the Goths, and the separation of the allied army, Attila was surprised at the vast silence which reigned over the plains of Châlons: the suspicion of some hostile stratagem detained him several days within the circle of his waggons; and his retreat beyond the Rhine confessed the last victory which was achieved in the name of the western empire. Meroveus and his Franks observing a prudent distance, and magnifying the opinion of their strength, by the numerous fires which they kindled every night, continued to follow the rear of the Huns, till they reached the confines of Thuringia. The Thuringians served in the army of Attila: they traversed, both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and it was perhaps in this war that they exercised the cruelty, which, about fourscore years afterwards, were revenged by the son of Clovis. They massacred their hostages, as well as their captives: two hundred young maidens were tortured with exquisite and unrelenting rage; their bodies were torn asunder by wild horses, or their bones were crushed under the weight of rolling waggons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on the public roads, as a prey to dogs and ruf-

² *Historie de Saint Germain*, c. 43, p. 551. The policy of Attila, and the behaviour of Tarconius, are extremely curious and the curious, according to Gregory of Tours, l. 4. c. 7, p. 162, described the grief of the Franks by suggesting to him a hostile apprehension. The false situation, however, persuaded, that Attila put a deliberate, not a forced, visit to the king of the Huns, and of the Visigoths, that war, of whom he obtained a tribe of ten thousand pieces of gold, as the price of an undisturbed retreat.

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Invasion
of Italy by
Attila,
A. D. 452.

tures. Such were those savage ancestors, whose imaginary virtues have sometimes excited the praise and envy of civilized ages.*

Neither the spirit, nor the forces, nor the reputation of Attila, were impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition. In the ensuing spring, he repeated his demand, of the princess Honoria, and her patrimonial treasures. The demand was again rejected, or eluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of tartarians. These barbarians were unskilled in the methods of conducting a regular siege, which even among the ancients, required some knowledge, or at least some practice, of the mechanic arts. But the labour of many thousand provincials and captives, whose lives were sacrificed without pity, might execute the most painful and dangerous work. The skill of the Roman artists might be corrupted to the destruction of their country. The walls of Aquileia were assaulted by a formidable train of battering rams, moveable turrets, and engines, that threw stones, darts, and fire;† and

* These qualities, which are passionately deplored by Theodoret, the son of Cassin, (Gregory of Tours, l. 10, c. 10, p. 160), and the time and circumstances of the invasion of Attila. His address in Theodoret was long attested by popular tradition; and he is supposed to have surrounded a pond, or dirt, in the territory of Elbach. See Mommson, l. 11, 70, who notices with some accuracy the extent of ancient Theodoret, and derives its name from the Gothic title of the Theodoret.

† Munkius construction, *machinæ, turres, et cetera, quædam adhibita*. Tacitus, l. 11, p. 872. In the Hibernian history, the *Machinæ*

the monarch of the Huns employed the forcible impulse of hope, fear, emulation, and interest, to subvert the only barrier which delayed the conquest of Italy. Aquileia was at that period one of the richest, the most populous, and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Adriatic coast. The Gothic auxiliaries, who appear to have served under their native princes Alaric and Antala, communicated their insatiable spirit; and the citizens still remembered the glorious and successful resistance, which their ancestors had opposed to a fierce, inexorable barbarian, who disgraced the majesty of the Roman purple. Three months were consumed without effect in the siege of Aquileia; till the want of provisions, and the clamours of his army, compelled Attila to relinquish the enterprise; and reluctantly to issue his orders, that the troops should strike their tents the next morning, and begin their retreat. But as he rode round the walls, pensive, angry, and disappointed, he observed a stork, preparing to leave her nest, in one of the towers, and to fly with her infant family towards the country. He seized, with the ready penetration of a statesman, this trifling incident, which chance had offered to superstition; he exclaimed, in a

note between the jaws of China with large eagles constructed by the Mahometans at Constantinople in their service, which were more than 120 to 100 pounds weight. At the bottom of their journey, the Chinese used quipsies, and even birds, these so kindred creatures they were known in Europe's yet from their colour, as formerly, some were mentioned in printed & unpublished papers. See *Journal des Voyages*, p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, &c.

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loud and cheerful tone, that such a domestic bird, so constantly attached to human society, would never have abandoned her ancient seats, unless those towers had been devoted to impending ruin and solitude.¹ The favourable omen inspired an assurance of victory; the siege was renewed, and prosecuted with fresh vigour; a large breach was made in the part of the wall from whence the stork had taken her flight: the Huns mounted to the assault with irresistible fury; and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia.² After this dreadful chastisement, Attila pursued his march; and as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced into heaps of stones and ashes. The inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without resistance, to the loss of their wealth; and applauded the unusual clemency, which preserved from the flames the public, as well as private, buildings; and spared the lives of the captive multitude. The popular traditions of Conium, Turin, or Modena, may justly be suspected; yet

¹ The same story is told by Jornandes, and by Procopius, *de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 4, p. 157, 158; nor is it easy to decide, which is the original. But the Greek historian is guilty of an inexcusable mistake, in placing the siege of Aquileia after the death of Attila.

² Jornandes, whose *de bellis* is a more accurate history, than Jornandes *de Bell. Goth.* v. 46, p. 142. *Paul. Diacon.* l. ii. c. 14, p. 174. *Gregor. Mag.* l. ix. c. 2. The name of Aquileia was sometimes applied to Ferris Julia, (Favaria) 200 miles, the more recent capital of the Venetian province.

they concur with more authentic evidence to prove, that Attila spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy; which are divided by the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Appennine.* When he took possession of the royal palace of Milan, he was surprised, and offended, at the sight of a picture which represented the Cæsars seated on their throne, and the princes of Scythia prostrate at their feet. The revenge which Attila inflicted on this monument of Roman vanity, was harmless and ingenious. He commanded a painter to reverse the figures, and the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated on the same canvas, approaching in a suppliant posture to empty their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Scythian monarch.† The spectators must have confessed the truth and propriety of the alteration; and were perhaps tempted to apply, on this singular occasion, the well-known fable of the dispute between the lion and the man.‡

* In describing this war of Attila, a war so famous, but so imperfectly known, I have taken for my guides two learned Italians, who considered the subject with some peculiar advantage; Sigheius, *de Imperio Occidentali*, l. 2. tit. de his, tom. 6. p. 496-502; and Giovanni Romoli d'Italia, tom. 1. p. 228-230. With addition.

† This scene must be found under two distinct pictures, *Epistola* and *supplicium* of the nine-fifteenth composition of Strada.

‡ The respective, learned two pictures must be
Various human deformities, of progress
Lament to read,

Appendix to Preface, Feb. 11.

The list of Theatricality actually appears from persons to the same, and it is not yet to be seen, that the same list of the Fencing is to be taken as has entitled this work here and improve your class.

where the Adriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near an hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by several long slips of land, which admit the entrance of vessels through some secret and narrow channels.⁴ Till the middle of the fifth century, these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new situation; and one of the epistles of Cassiodorus,⁵ which describes their condition about seventy years afterwards, may be considered as the primitive monument of the republic. The minister of Theodoric compares them, in his quaint declamatory style, to water-fowl, who had fixed their nests on the bosom of the waves; and though he allows, that the Venetian provinces had formerly contained many noble families, he intimates, that they were now reduced by misfortune to the same level of humble poverty. Fish was the common, and almost the universal,

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<sup>4</sup> The topography and antiquities of the Venetian islands, first related to Cladius, an Obsequian, are accurately stated in the *Observationes Chronographice de Italia Medii Aevi*, p. 121, 122.

<sup>5</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variar.* l. II, epist. 24. Maffei (*Variorum Illustrat.* 1702, 4, p. 780-782), has translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful historian, who considers medieval Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He gives the date of the epistle, and consequently the period when, at Cassiodorus, A. D. 521, and the emperor's authority for the same weight, as he had prepared an edition of his works, and actually presented a dissertation on the true topography of her isles. See the *severend Letterstedt*, tom. II, p. 780-782.

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 food of every rank: their only treasure consisted in the plenty of salt, which they extracted from the sea; and the exchange of that commodity, so essential to human life, was substituted in the neighbouring markets to the currency of gold and silver. A people, whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water, soon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avarice succeeded to those of necessity. The islanders, who, from Grado to Chioggia, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy, by the secure, though laborious, navigation of the rivers and inland canals. Their vessels, which were continually increasing in size and number, visited all the harbours of the gulf; and the marriage, which Venice annually celebrates with the Adriatic, was contracted in her early infancy. The epistle of Cassiodorus, the pretorian prefect, is addressed to the maritime tribunes; and he exhorts them, in a mild tone of authority, to animate the zeal of their countrymen for the public service, which required their assistance to transport the magazines of wine and oil from the province of Istria to the royal city of Ravenna. The ambiguous office of these magistrates is explained by the tradition, that in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual and popular election. The existence of the Venetian republic under the Gothic kingdom of Italy, is attested by the same authentic record, which annihilates their lofty

claim of original and perpetual independ- CHAP.  
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ence.<sup>28</sup>

The Italians, who had long since renounced the exercise of arms, were surprised, after forty years peace, by the approach of a formidable barbarian, whom they abhorred, as the enemy of their religion, as well as of their republic. Amidst the general consternation, Ætius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should achieve, alone, and unassisted, any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The barbarians who had defended Gaul, refused to march to the relief of Italy; and the succours promised by the eastern emperor were distant and doubtful. Since Ætius, at the head of his domestic troops, still maintained the field, and harassed or retarded the march of Attila, he never showed himself more truly great, than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and ungrateful people.<sup>29</sup> If the mind of Valentinian had been susceptible of any generous sentiments, he would have chosen such a general for his

<sup>28</sup> Thus, in the second edition of *Annales de la Grande Bretagne de Louis-le-Grand*, a translation of the famous *Epitome*. This book, which has been quoted the above paragraph, is stained in every line with the dangerous misrepresentations of party; but the philosophical criticism, precise and unprejudiced, is brought together, and the reader will easily choose the true version.

<sup>29</sup> Bernardi (*Not. ad Ann. Gregor. in Urb. hist. publicat.*) a passage drawn from the *Chronicle of Prosper*. *Attila imperatoris regnum, quoniam in Gallia universaliter infestum ingruit per Fulgentium schismaticum, etiam deinde nostris. Atque omninoque gentes, bellum apertum, precipitantes, &c.* The expression *Attila* with respect to guard the Alps, and with a design to shew the Italy; but this last sentence may at least be corroborated by the preceding testimonies of *Gregory* and *Isidore*.

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example and his guide. But the timid grandson of Theodosius, instead of sharing the dangers, escaped from the sound of war; and his hasty retreat from Ravenna to Rome, from an impregnable fortress to an open capital, betrayed his secret intention of abandoning Italy, as soon as the danger should approach his imperial person. This shameful abdication was suspended, however, by the spirit of doubt and delay, which commonly adheres to pusillanimous counsels, and sometimes corrects their pernicious tendency. The western emperor, with the senate and people of Rome, embraced the more salutary resolution of deprecating, by a solemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila. This important commission was accepted by Avienus, who, from his birth and riches, his consular dignity, the numerous train of his clients, and his personal abilities, held the first rank in the Roman senate. The specious and artful character of Avienus,\* was admirably qualified to conduct a negotiation either of public or private interest: his colleague Trigetius had exercised the pretorian prefecture of Italy; and Leo, bishop of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. The genius of Leo† was exercised and displayed

\* See the original portrait of Avienus, and his trial and trial, preserved and corrected in the edition (L. 8. p. 22) of *Historia*. The last recalled the character of the two chiefs of the senate; but he attached himself to Avienus, as the more noble and distinguished of the two.

† The character and principles of Leo may be traced in one hundred and twenty and a half epistles, which illustrate the ecclesiastical history of his long and busy pontificate, from A. D. 440 to 461. See Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique*, tom. III. part 3, p. 170-181.

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in the public misfortunes; and he had deserved the appellation of *Great*, by the successful zeal with which he laboured to establish his opinions and his authority, under the venerable names of orthodox faith and ecclesiastical discipline. The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila, as he lay encamped at the place where the slow-winding Mincius is lost in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus,\* and trampled, with his Scythian cavalry, the farms of Catullus and Virgil.† The barbarian monarch listened with favourable, and even respectful, attention; and the deliverance of Italy was purchased by the immense ransom, or dowry, of the princess Honoria. The state of his army might facilitate the treaty, and hasten his retreat. Their martial spirit was relaxed by the wealth and indolence of a warm climate. The shepherds of the North, whose ordinary food consisted of milk and raw flesh, indulged themselves too freely in the use of turnep, of wine, and of meat prepared and seasoned by the arts of cookery; and the progress of disease

————— hardly lagged his Beaulieu trail  
Minchia, or Minch, gradual ascending steep

Atter lower station, in Lake Lucerne, rapids

Fluctuat, et fluctu dissipata Maurus arces.

The Marquis Blais (Voyage Illustré, part i. p. 81, 125, 221; part ii. p. 2, &c.) has illustrated with care and learning this interesting topography. He places the invasion of Attila and St. Leo near Ascheta, or Ardèche, now Pouchera, at the confluence of the lake and river; ascends the site of Catullus, in the delightful peninsula of Canobbio, and discovers the Arden of Virgil, in the village of Barchin, previously assumed such an extensive name, whence the Vesuvius hills imperceptibly slope down into the plain of Mantua.

CHAP. XXXV. *revenge* in some measure the injuries of the Italians.\* When Attila declared his resolution of carrying his victorious arms to the gates of Rome, he was admonished by his friends, as well as by his enemies, that Alaric had not long survived the conquest of the eternal city. His mind, superior to real danger, was assaulted by imaginary terrors; nor could he escape the influence of superstition, which had so often been subservient to his designs.<sup>†</sup> The pressing eloquence of Leo, his majestic aspect, and sacerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of the Christians. The apparition of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the barbarian with instant death, if he rejected the prayer of their successor, is one of the noblest legends of ecclesiastical tradition. The safety of Rome might deserve the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable, which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael, and the chisel of Algardi.<sup>‡</sup>

\* It is true, indeed, against whose persons, *granda shocim* we sets out in Tassoni's poem, does seem Italia's children's eye, but still collects themselves with strength. Adieu goes not, nor is the name, of Alaric's old strength, &c. This passage of Florus III. It is still more applicable to the Huns than to the Goths, and it may serve as a commentary on the related plague, with which Alaric and his army have afflicted the troops of Attila.

† The historian Procopius had previously ascribed the effect which this example produced on the mind of Attila. *Procopius*, c. III. p. 378.

‡ The picture of Raphael is in the Vatican; the statue (or perhaps the same statue of Algardi, as one of the statues of St. Peter) in the Vatican Museum may be found at the Vatican, vol. I. p. 215, 216. *Procopius* (*Antiq. Eccles.* A.D. 454, c. 33, 34) having observed the truth of his application, which is rightly, however, by the very learned and pious criticism.

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XXIV.The death  
of Attila.  
A. D. 453.

Before the king of the Huns evacuated Italy, he threatened to return more dreadful, and more implacable, if his bride, the princess Hunoria, were not delivered to his ambassadors within the term stipulated by the treaty. Yet, in the meanwhile, Attila relieved his tender anxiety, by adding a beautiful maid, whose name was Ildice, to the list of his innumerable wives.\* Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity, at his wooden palace beyond the Danube; and the monarch, oppressed with wine and sleep, retired, at a late hour, from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures, or his repose, the greatest part of the ensuing day, till the unusual silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and, after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment. They found the trembling bride sitting by the bedside, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king, who had expired during

\* Attila, as Procopius observes, before, a marriage was consummated, performed before his subjects, domestic sacrifices, the same as those paid to some of the goddesses. . . . . (Procopius, c. 44, p. 643. not. 11.) afterwards, viz. 453, p. 643. That Attila, upon the occasion, exhibited great popular festivity, has been asserted among the Tartars of every age. The rule of pleasure alone is regulated only by their personal interests, and the fatal example of Attila, without a restraint, the law which is derived for his bleeding eyes. It is in real imitation the daughters of those communities to their sole a prior right of inheritance. See Constantinian History, p. 148. 149, 150.

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the night.<sup>2</sup> An artery had suddenly burst; and as Attila lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood, which, instead of finding a passage through the nostrils, regurgitated into the lungs and stomach. His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the plain, under a silken pavilion, and the chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured evolutions, chanted a funeral song to the memory of a hero, glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world. According to their national custom, the barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader as he deserved, not with the tears of women, but with the blood of warriors. The remains of Attila were inclosed within three coffins, of gold, of silver, and of iron, and privately buried in the night: the spoils of nations were thrown into his grave; the captives who had opened the ground were inhumanly massacred; and the same Huns, who had indulged such excessive grief, feasted, with dissolute and intemperate mirth, about the recent sepulchre of their king. It was reported at Constantinople, that on

<sup>2</sup> The report of two galls visited Constantinople, where it assumed a very different name; and Marcianus observed, that the treaty of Europe was slain in the night by the hand, and the knife, of a woman. Galla, who has adopted the genuine account, in his tragedy, describes the vengeance of blood in very beautiful lines, and Attila's ex-cesses, with still greater force.

— *Est se veni carenter Attila*;  
(*Bliss*) on our patria ex qui n'co, ex coore.

the fortunate night in which he expired, Marcian beheld in a dream the tower of Attila broken in sunder: and the report may be allowed to prove, how seldom the image of that formidable barbarian was absent from the mind of a Roman emperor.\*

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The revolution which subverted the empire of the Huns, established the fame of Attila, whose genius alone had sustained the huge and disjointed fabric. After his death the boldest chieftains aspired to the rank of kings; the most powerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior; and the numerous sons, whom so many various mothers bore to the deceased monarch, divided and disputed, like a private inheritance, the sovereign command of the nations of Germany and Scythia. The bold Ardaric felt and represented the disgrace of this servile partition: and his subjects, the warlike Gepidae, with the Ostrogoths, under the conduct of three vallant brothers, encouraged their allies to vindicate the rights of freedom and royalty. In a bloody and decisive conflict on the banks of the river Neuh, in Pannonia, the lance of the Gepidae, the sword of the Goths, the arrows of the Huns, the Suevic infantry, the light arms of the Heruli, and the heavy weapons of the Alani, encountered or supported each other; and the victory of Ardaric was accompanied with the slaughter of thirty

Dissemin-  
tion of his  
empire.

\* The various circumstances of the death and funeral of Attila, are related by Jornandes, *l. c.* p. 227, 228, 229, and were probably transmitted from France.



believed, that Irmur, the youngest of his sons, was destined to perpetuate the glories of his race. The character of that prince, who attempted to moderate the madness of his brother Dengisch, was more suitable to the declining condition of the Huns; and Irmur, with his subject hordes, retired into the heart of the Lapsa Scythia. They were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new barbarians, who followed the same road which their own ancestry had formerly discovered. The Gorgeni, or Avura, whose residence is assigned by the Greek writers to the shores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the legions of the North, issuing from the cold Siberian regions, which produce the most valuable furs, spread themselves over the desert, as far as the Boristhenes and Caspian gates; and finally extinguished the empire of the Huns.\*

Such an event might contribute to the safety of the eastern empire, under the reign of a prince, who cultivated the friendship, without forfeiting the vitæ, of the barbarians. But the emperor of the West, the feeble and disolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year without attaining the age of reason or courage, abused this apparent security to undermine the foundations of his own throne, by the murder of the patrician Athus. From the indirect

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continued

Valentinian  
murdered  
Athus the  
patrician  
311, 312.  
A.D. 357

\* These modern historians have shown much less light and less skill and industry in the empire of Attila. M. de Buat, by his ignorance and extreme negligence, tom. viii, p. 3-31, 38-44; and M. de Guignes, by the extraordinary knowledge of the Chinese language and writers. See Hsiao Shu Hsien, tom. 2, p. 273-276.

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of a base and jealous mind, he hated the man who was universally celebrated as the terror of the barbarians, and the support of the republic; and his new favourite, the eunuch Heraclius, awakened the emperor from the supine lethargy, which might be disguised, during the life of Placidia,\* by the excuse of filial piety. The fame of Ætius, his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of barbarian followers, his powerful dependants, who filled the civil offices of the state, and the hopes of his son Gaudentius, who was already contracted to Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter, had raised him above the rank of a subject. The ambitious designs, of which he was secretly accused, excited the fears, as well as the resentment, of Valentinian. Ætius himself, supported by the consciousness of his merit, his services, and perhaps his innocence, seems to have maintained a haughty and indiscreet behaviour. The patrician offended his sovereign by an hostile declaration: he aggravated the offence, by compelling him to ratify, with a solemn oath, a treaty of reconciliation and alliance; he proclaimed his suspicions, he neglected his safety: and from a vain confidence that the enemy, whom he despised, was incapable

\* Placidia died at Rome, November 11, A. D. 426. She was buried at Ravenna, where her sepulchre, and even her corpse, stood for a while of record. Her remains were preserved for ages. The emperor received many compliments from the orthodox clergy; and St. Peter Chrysologus asserted, that her soul for the Trinity had been compensated by an equal number of children. See Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. rom. iv. p. 740.

even of a manly crime, he rashly ventured his person in the palace of Rome. Whilst he urged, perhaps with intemperate vehemence, the marriage of his son, Valentinian, drawing his sword, the first sword he had ever drawn, plunged it in the breast of a general who had saved his empire: his courtiers and eunuchs ambitiously struggled to imitate their master; and Ætius, pierced with an hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence. Boethius, the pretorian prefect, was killed at the same moment; and before the event could be divulged, the principal friends of the patrician were summoned to the palace, and separately murdered. The horrid deed, palliated by the specious names of justice and necessity, was immediately communicated by the emperor to his soldiers, his subjects, and his allies. The nations, who were strangers or enemies to Ætius, generously deplored the unworthy fate of a hero: the barbarians, who had been attached to his service, dissembled their grief and resentment; and the public contempt, which had been so long entertained for Valentinian, was at once converted into deep and universal abhorrence. Such sentiments seldom pervade the walls of a palace: yet the emperor was confounded by the honest reply of a Roman, whose approbation he had not disdained to solicit. "I am ignorant,"  
 "Sir, of your motives or pretensions; I only  
 "know, that you have acted like a man who  
 "cuts off his right hand with his left."<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Actum Placuit manu dextra, armis, in the reputation of Valentinian, (Tacitus, Ann. 116). The poet knew the world, and*

THAT  
SUCH  
a  
man  
and  
republic  
as  
this  
city  
of  
Machi-  
mon.

The luxury of Rome seems to have attracted the long and frequent visits of Valentinian: who was consequently more despised at Rome, than in any other part of his dominions. A republican spirit was hereditarily revived in the senate, as their authority, and even their supplies, became necessary for the support of his feeble government. The stately decour of an hereditary monarch offended their pride: and the pleasures of Valentinian were injurious to the peace and honour of noble families. The birth of the empress Eudoxia was equal to his own, and her charms and tender affection deserved those testimonies of love, which her inconstant husband dissipated in vagabond and unlawful amours. Petronius Maximus, a wealthy senator of the African family, who had been twice consul, was possessed of a chaste and beautiful wife: her obstinate resistance served only to incite the desires of Valentinian: and he resolved to accomplish them either by stratagem or force. Deep gaming was one of the vices of the court: the emperor, who, by chance or contrivance, had gained from Maximus a considerable sum, unobtrusively exacted his ring as a security for the debt: and sent it by a trusty messenger to his wife, with an order, in her husband's name, that she should immediately attend the empress Eudoxia. The unsuspecting wife of Maximus was conveyed in her litter to the imperial palace: the attentions of her impatient lover conducted her to a remote and silent

was not brought to Rome a witness who had enjoyed in Augustus' private and domestic life the salutary lessons of his age.

bed-chamber; and Valentinian violated, without  
 remorse, the laws of hospitality. Her tears,  
 when she returned home: her deep affliction;  
 and her bitter reproaches against her husband,  
 whom she considered as the accomplice of his  
 own shame; excited Maximus to a just revenge;  
 the desire of revenge was stimulated by ambi-  
 tion; and he might reasonably aspire, by the free  
 suffrage of the Roman senate, to the throne of a  
 detested and despicable rival. Valentinian, who  
 supposed that every human breast was devoid,  
 like his own, of friendship and gratitude, had  
 imprudently admitted among his guards several  
 domestics and followers of *Ætius*. Two of these,  
 of barbarian race, were persuaded to execute a  
 sacred and honourable duty, by punishing with  
 death the assassin of their patron: and their in-  
 trophy courage did not long expect a favourable  
 moment. Whilst Valentinian amused himself in  
 the field of Mars with the spectacle of some mi-  
 litary sports, they suddenly rushed upon him  
 with drawn weapons, despatched the giddy He-  
 racles, and stabbed the emperor to the heart,  
 without the least opposition from his numerous  
 train, who seemed to rejoice in the tyrant's death.  
 Such was the fate of Valentinian 1145 the last

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 MAXIMUS

Reign of  
 Valenti-  
 nian.  
 A. D. 392,  
 March 14.

\* With regard to the story and circumstances of the death of  
*Ætius* and *Valentinian*, the information is doubtful and imperfect.  
 See the Hist. Vivian. l. i. c. 4. p. 166, 167, 168. It is a tradi-  
 tion among the people of Rome, that *Ætius* was the assassin of his  
 nephew; and that he was executed by the people of Rome. This  
 story is not supported by any of the ancient historians, and is  
 contradicted by the fact, that *Ætius* was executed by the people of  
 Rome, and not by the people of Rome. The story is also contradicted  
 by the fact, that *Ætius* was executed by the people of Rome, and  
 not by the people of Rome. The story is also contradicted by the  
 fact, that *Ætius* was executed by the people of Rome, and not by  
 the people of Rome.

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Roman emperor of the family of Theodosius. He faithfully imitated the hereditary weakness of his cousin and his two uncles, without inheriting the gentleness, the purity, the innocence, which alleviate, in their characters, the want of spirit and ability. Valentinian was less excusable, since he had passions, without virtues: even his religion was questionable; and though he never deviated into the paths of heresy, he scandalized the pious Christians by his attachment to the profane arts of magic and divination.

Scandalous  
of Jove  
and Jove

As early as the time of Cicero and Varro, it was the opinion of the Roman augurs, that the *twelve vultures*, which Romulus had seen, represented the *twelve centuries*, assigned for the fatal period of his city.<sup>4</sup> This prophecy, disregarded, perhaps, in the season of health and prosperity, inspired the people with gloomy apprehensions, when the twelfth century, clouded with disgrace and misfortune, was almost elapsed;<sup>5</sup> and even posterity must acknowledge with some surprise, that the arbitrary interpretation of an accidental

<sup>4</sup> This interpretation of Vespas, a celebrated augur, was quoted by Varro, in the eighth book of his *Antiquities*. *Caesars de Re Nat.*, c. 11, p. 95, 94, edit. Havercamp.

<sup>5</sup> According to Varro, the twelfth century would expire A. D. 441, but the uncertainty of the date era of Rome might allow some latitude of interpretation or delay. The poets of the age, Claudian, viz. *Rat. Germ.*, 203, and Sidonius, viz. *Fastig.*, v. 217, may be admitted as late witnesses of the popular opinion.

See especially *Antiquities*, vol. 10, p. 95, 94, edit. Havercamp.

The people took the twelfth century as the

Twelfth century, and the twelfth century, viz. *Rat.*, 203, 204.

See Diderot, *Hist. Critique*, tom. 1, p. 248-249.

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or fabulous circumstance, has been seriously verified in the downfall of the western empire. But its fall was announced by a clearer omen than the flight of vultures: the Roman government appeared every day less formidable to its enemies, more odious and oppressive to its subjects.<sup>1</sup> The taxes were multiplied with the public distress; economy was neglected in proportion as it became necessary; and the injustice of the rich shifted the unequal burden from themselves to the people, whom they defrauded of the indulgences that might sometimes have alleviated their misery. The severe acquisition, which confiscated their goods, and tortured their persons, compelled the subjects of Valentinian to prefer the more simple tyranny of the barbarians, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the vile and abject condition of mercenary servants. They abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens, which had formerly excited the ambition of mankind. The Armorican provinces of Gaul, and the greatest part of Spain, were thrown into a state of disorderly independence, by the confederations of the Bagaudæ; and the imperial ministers pursued with proscriptive laws, and ineffectual arms, the rebels whom they had made.<sup>2</sup> If all the barbarian conquerors had

<sup>1</sup> The 10th book of Salvian is filled with pathetic remonstrances and exhortations. He particularly forebodes ruin to those who sinners, as well as the corruption of the Roman government. This book was published after the loss of Africa, (A. D. 429), and before Attila's war, (A. D. 451).

<sup>2</sup> The Bagaudæ of Spain, who fought several battles with the Roman troops, are repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle of Isidore. See below.



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*Sack of Rome by Genseric, king of the Vandals—His naval depredations—Narration of the last emperors of the West, Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos, Anastasius—Total extinction of the western empire—Reign of Gelimer, the first barbarian king of Italy.*

THE loss or desolation of the provinces, from the ocean to the Alps, impaired the glory and greatness of Rome; her internal prosperity was irretrievably destroyed by the separation of Africa. The rapacious Vandals confiscated the patrimonial estates of the senators, and intercepted the regular subsidies, which relieved the poverty, and encouraged the idleness, of the plebeians. The distress of the Romans was soon aggravated by an unexpected attack; and the province, so long cultivated for their use by industrious and obedient subjects, was armed against them by an ambitious barbarian. The Vandals and Alani, who followed the successful standard of Genseric, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which stretched along the coast above ninety days journey from Tangier to Tripoli; but their narrow limits were pressed and confined, on either side, by the sandy desert and the Mediterranean. The discovery and conquest of the black nations, that

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page of  
the Van-  
dals,  
A. D. 429.  
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might dwell beneath the torrid zone, could not tempt the rational ambition of Genseric: but he cast his eyes towards the sea; he resolved to create a naval power, and his bold resolution was executed with steady and active perseverance. The woods of mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber; his new subjects were skilled in the arts of navigation and ship-building; he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render every maritime country accessible to their arms; the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder; and, after an interval of six centuries, the fleets that issued from the port of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The success of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the sack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Languis, awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentianian, and the sister of Theodosius. Alliances were formed; and armaments, expensive and ineffectual, were prepared for the destruction of the common enemy; who reserved his courage to encounter those dangers which his policy could not prevent or elude. The designs of the Roman government were repeatedly baffled by his artful delays, ambiguous promises, and apparent concessions; and the interposition of his formidable confederate the king of the Huns, recalled the emperors from the conquest of Africa to the care of their domestic safety. The revolutions of the palace, which left the western empire without a defender, and without a lawful prince, dispelled the apprehensions, and stimulated the

avancer, of Genseric. He immediately equipped a numerous fleet of Vandalis and Misra, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, about three months after the death of Valentinian, and the elevation of Maximus to the imperial throne.

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The private life of the senator Petronius Maximus,\* was often alleged as a rare example of human felicity. His birth was noble and illustrious; since he descended from the Aracina family: his dignity was supported by an adequate patrimony in land and money; and these advantages of fortune were accompanied with liberal arts and decent manners, which adorn or imitate the inestimable gifts of genius and virtue. The luxury of his palace and table was hospitable and elegant. Whenever Maximus appeared in public, he was surrounded by a train of grateful and obsequious clients;† and it is possible that among these clients, he might deserve and possess some real friends. His merit was rewarded by the favour of the prince and senate: he thrice exercised the office of prætorian prefect of Italy; he was twice invested with the consulship, and he obtained the rank of patrician. These civil honours were not incompatible with the enjoyment

The character and reign of the emperor Maximus, A. D. 465, March 12.

\* Valerius Apollonius composed the *Agrippina* epics, of the second book, to relate the passion of his friend Maximus, who maintained a singular, though generous, resistance to the darkest empire. This episode, with some indulgence, may excite the praise of his elegant composition; and it throws much light on the character of Maximus.

† Maximus, growing ambitious, threatened, as it is said, the fall of the empire himself. A. D. 465, he sought to assume the purple of imperial rank.

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.....

of leisure and tranquillity: his hours, according to the demands of pleasure or reason, were accurately distributed by a water-clock; and this arrangement of time may be allowed to prove the sense which Maximus entertained of his own happiness. The injury which he received from the emperor Valentinian, appears to excuse the most bloody revenge. Yet a philosopher might have reflected, that, if the resistance of his wife had been sincere, her chastity was still inviolate, and that it could never be restored if she had consented to the will of the adulterer. A patriot would have hesitated, before he plunged himself and his country into those inevitable calamities, which must follow the extinction of the royal house of Theodosius. The imprudent Maximus disregarded these salutary considerations: he gratified his resentment and ambition; he saw the bleeding corpse of Valentinian at his feet; and he heard himself saluted emperor by the unanimous voice of the senate and people. But the day of his inauguration was the last day of his happiness. He was imprisoned (such is the lively expression of Sidonius) in the palace; and after passing a sleepless night, he sighed that he had attained the summit of his wishes, and aspired only to descend from the dangerous elevation. Oppressed by the weight of the diadem, he communicated his anxious thoughts to his friend and questor Fulgentius; and when he looked back with unavailing regret on the secure pleasures of his former life, the emperor exclaimed,—“O fortunate Da-

"moches," thy reign began and ended with the  
 "same danger!" a well-known allusion, which  
 Fulgentius afterwards repeated as an instructive  
 lesson for princes and subjects.

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The reign of Maximus continued about three  
 months. His hours, of which he had lost the  
 command, were disturbed by remorse, or guilt,  
 or terror, and his throne was shaken by the sedi-  
 tions of the soldiers, the people, and the con-  
 federate barbarians. The marriage of his son  
 Palladius with the eldest daughter of the late em-  
 peror, might tend to establish the hereditary suc-  
 cession of his family; but the violence which he  
 offered to the empress Eudoxia, could proceed  
 only from the blind impulse of lust or revenge.  
 His own wife, the cause of these tragic events,  
 had been seasonably removed by death; and the  
 widow of Valentinian was compelled to violate  
 her decent mourning, perhaps her real grief, and  
 to submit to the embraces of a presumptuous  
 usurper, whom she suspected as the assassin of her  
 deceased husband. These suspicions were soon  
 justified by the indiscreet confession of Maximus  
 himself; and he wantonly provoked the hatred of  
 his reluctant bride, who was still conscious that  
 she descended from a line of emperors. From

His death.  
 A. D. 455,  
 June 13.

1. Maximus could not longer keep  
 the throne, because he was  
 hated by the soldiers and  
 the people. He was  
 forced to abdicate.

From Valer. p. 1.

Valerius Maximus began his reign with the title of Emperor, which he  
 (Valerius, v. 10, 21) but he was not called.

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\*\*\*\*\*

the East, however, Eudokia could not hope to obtain any effectual assistance: her father and her aunt Pulcheria were dead: her mother languished at Jerusalem in disgrace and exile; and the sceptre of Constantinople was in the hands of a stranger. She directed her eyes towards Carthage; secretly implored the aid of the king of the Vandals; and persuaded Genseric to improve the fair opportunity of disguising his rapacious designs by the specious names of honour, justice, and compassion.\* Whatever abilities Maximus might have shewn in a subordinate station, he was found incapable of administering an empire; and though he might easily have been informed of the naval preparations which were made on the opposite shores of Africa, he expected with supine indifference the approach of the enemy, without adopting any measures of defence, of negotiation, or of a timely retreat. When the Vandals disembarked at the mouth of the Tiber, the emperor was suddenly roused from his lethargy by the clamours of a trembling and exasperated multitude. The only hope which presented itself to his astonished mind was that of a precipitate flight, and he exhorted the senators to imitate the example of their prince. But no

\* *See Maximianus rex exilium at Paphlagonia, Theopropius, Historia Maxima, &c. ete. Maximo Maximo, Orosio & Ballo, tom. ii. p. 350.* *Plinius* the reality of this translation, and observes, with great authority, "Nec id potest quod in rebus et populi a regibus a regibus et regibus et regibus." But his argument, from the universal of this and *Plinius* is extremely weak. The age which gave rise to Carthage was professed in the senate of Rome on the third day.

sooner did Maximus appear in the streets, than he was assailed by a shower of stones: a Roman, or a Burgundian soldier, claimed the honour of the first wound: his mangled body was ignominiously cast into the Tiber: the Roman people rejoiced in the punishment which they had inflicted on the author of the public calamities; and the domestics of Eudoxia signalized their zeal in the service of their mistress.

On the third day after the tumult, Genseric boldly advanced from the port of Ostia to the gates of the defenceless city: instead of a rally of the Roman youth, there issued from the gates an unarmed and venerable procession of the bishop at the head of his clergy.<sup>2</sup> The fatherly spirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, again mitigated the fierceness of a barbarian conqueror: the king of the Vandals promised to spare the unresisting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture; and although such orders were neither seriously given, nor strictly obeyed, the mediation of Leo was glorious to himself, and in some degree beneficial to his country. But Rome and its inhabitants were

See the  
Rome by  
the Van-  
dals.  
A. D. 455.  
June 12-  
13.

<sup>1</sup> . . . . . *Verbaque illi Eurymachus dixit.*

*Exspect impudens instanti periculis hosti.*

*Rome in Procop. Lib. 4. c. 10.*

A remarkable law, which demands that Rome and Maximus were betrayed by their Eurydice's instrument.

<sup>2</sup> The apparent success of Pope Leo, and the justice of Procopius, and the *Prophet*, *Mission*, and the *Imperial* will of the *Imperial*, *Lib. 4. c. 10*, *25*, *26*, that Genseric spared the three apostles, *Lib. 4. c. 10*, *25*, *26*, that Genseric spared the three apostles, *Lib. 4. c. 10*, *25*, *26*, that Genseric spared the three apostles, *Lib. 4. c. 10*, *25*, *26*.

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delivered to the licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors, whose blind passions revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights; and all that yet remained of public or private wealth, of sacred or profane treasure, was diligently transported to the vessels of Genseric. Among the spoils, the splendid relics of two temples, or rather of two religions, exhibited a memorable example of the vicissitude of human and divine things. Since the abolition of paganism, the capital had been violated and abandoned; yet the statues of the gods and heroes were still respected, and the curious roof of gilt bronze was reserved for the rapacious hands of Genseric.<sup>a</sup> The holy instruments of the Jewish worship,<sup>b</sup> the gold table, and the gold candlestick with seven branches, originally framed according to the particular instructions of God himself, and which were placed in the sanctuary of his temple, had been ostentatiously displayed to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. They were afterwards deposited in the temple of Pyrus:

<sup>a</sup> The profanation of Carthage, the year when gilt the roof of the temple, was not universally approved; (Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxi. 16.) but it was far attended by the emperor's, and the extensive gilding of the temple cost Domitian 14,000 talents, (1,400,000*l.*). The splendours of Claudius and Augustus (two small pieces . . . judges scarce) and magnificent temple adorned with minute stones manifestly prove that this splendid covering was not reserved either to the Christians or the Goths, (see *Illustrat. Regis Augusti*, p. 10. c. 9. p. 126). It should seem that the roof of the capital was decorated with gilt statues, and clouds drawn by four horses.

<sup>b</sup> The curious reader may consult the learned and accurate treatise of Heideck, *Recherches sur le Temple Hierosolymite* in Arch. Y. d'ant. Rome, tom. ix. in 1780, Trajets de Heideck, 1782.

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and at the end of four hundred years, the spoils of Jerusalem were transferred from Rome to Carthage, by a barbarian who derived his origin from the shores of the Baltic. These ancient monuments might attract the notice of curiosity, as well as of avarice. But the Christian churches, enriched and adorned by the prevailing superstition of the times, afforded more plentiful materials for sacrilege; and the pious liberality of Pope Leo, who melted six silver vases, the gift of Constantine, each of an hundred pounds weight, is an evidence of the damage which he attempted to repair. In the forty-five years, that had elapsed since the Gothic invasion, the pomp and luxury of Rome were in some measure restored; and it was difficult either to escape, or to satisfy, the avarice of a companion, who possessed leisure to collect, and ships to transport, the wealth of the capital. The imperial ornaments of the palace, the magnificent furniture and wardrobe, the sideboards of massy plate, were accumulated with disorderly rapine: the gold and silver amounted to several thousand talents; yet even the brass and copper were laboriously removed. Eudokia herself, who advanced to meet her friend and deliverer, soon bewailed the imprudence of her own conduct. She was rudely stripped of her jewels; and the unfortunate empress, with her two daughters, the only surviving remains of the great Theodosius, was compelled, as a captive, to follow the haughty Vandal; who immediately hoisted sail, and returned with a prosperous naviga-

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CONCLUSION

tion to the port of Carthage.<sup>1</sup> Many thousand Romans of both sexes, chosen for some useful or agreeable qualifications, reluctantly embarked on board the fleet of Genseric; and their distress was aggravated by the unfeeling barbarians, who, in the division of the booty, separated the wives from the husbands, and the children from their parents. The charity of Desgratias, bishop of Carthage,<sup>2</sup> was their only consolation and support. He generously sold the gold and silver plate of the church to purchase the freedom of some, to alleviate the slavery of others, and to assist the wants and infirmities of a captive multitude, whose health was impaired by the hardships which they had suffered in their passage from Italy to Africa. By his order, two spacious churches were converted into hospitals: the sick were distributed in convenient beds, and liberally supplied with food and medicines; and the aged prelate repeated his visits both in the day and night, with an assiduity that surpassed his strength, and a tender sympathy which enhanced the value of his services. Compare this scene with the field of Cannæ; and judge between Hannibal and the successor of St. Cyrian.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The vessel which transported the relics of the bishop, was the only one of the whole fleet that suffered misfortune. It is figured *apud*, 4 pages before, had threatened the accident; he might have expected that this species of mortification was due to the sea.

<sup>2</sup> See, *Chron. Constant. de Episcopis*, Vandal. l. 1, c. 8, p. 23, 27, with *Notitæ*. Desgratias possessed the church of Carthage only three years. If he had not been premature bishop, his corpse would have been preserved by the most devoted of the people.

<sup>3</sup> The general sentence for the death of Maximus, and the sack of Rome by the Vandals, is comprised in *Notitæ*, (Paganus, Art.

The deaths of Etius and Valentinian had relaxed the ties which held the barbarians of Gaul in peace and subordination. The sea-coast was infested by the Saxons; the Alemanni and the Franks advanced from the Rhine to the Seine; and the ambition of the Goths seemed to meditate more extensive and permanent conquests. The emperor Maximus relieved himself, by a judicious choice, from the weight of these distant cares; he silenced the solicitations of his friends, listened to the voice of fame, and promoted a stranger to the general command of the forces in Gaul. Avitus, the stranger, whose merit was so nobly rewarded, descended from a wealthy and honourable family in the diocese of Auvergne. The compulsions of the times urged him to embrace, with the same ardour, the civil and military professions; and the indefatigable youth blended the studies of literature and jurisprudence with the exercise of arms and hunting. Fifty years of his life were laudably spent in the public service; he alternately displayed his talents in war and negotiations; and the soldier of Etius, after executing the most important embassies, was raised to the station of pretorian prefect of Gaul. Either the merit of Avitus excited envy, or his moderation was denominated repose, since he calmly retired to an estate.

CHAM  
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412-430). Prompted, the *Walt. Varieties* 1, 2, p. 8; 3, p. 108, [109, and 4, p. 6, p. 8, p. 250]. *Progress*, 5, 2, p. 7; *Journalist*, 20, 24, 25, 26, p. 42, p. 670, and the *Chronicle of Idaho*, *Progress*, *Meridianian*, and *Theodore* under the proper year.

\* The general liberal character of *Arctostaphylos* must be defined, with becoming exceptions, from the phlegmatic government by Toleration & Indulgence, the nation, and the community.

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[continued]

which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Clermont. A copious stream, issuing from the mountain, and falling headlong in many a loud and foaming cascade, discharged its waters into a lake about two miles in length, and the villa was pleasantly seated on the margin of the lake. The baths, the porticoes, the summer and winter apartments, were adapted to the purposes of luxury and ease; and the adjacent country afforded the various prospects of woods, pastures, and meadows.\* In this retreat, where Avitus amused his leisure with books, rural sports, the practice of husbandry, and the society of his friends,† he received the imperial diploma, which constituted him master-general of the cavalry and infantry of Gaul. He assumed the military command; the barbarians suspended their fury; and whatever terms he might employ, whatever concessions he might be forced to make, the people enjoyed the benefits of actual tranquillity. But the fate of Gaul depended on the Visigoths; and the Roman

\* After the example of the younger Pliny, *Naturalis Hist.* ii. c. 25, he illustrated the description, and gave a description of his villa, which bore the name, *Ephebesium*, and had been the property of Aulus. The present situation is not ascertained. Consult *Notæ* to the letter of Desprez and Burmann.

† *Naturalis Hist.* ii. c. 25, says, *By his description the country life of the Gallic nobles, in a word which he made to his friends, villas, estates were in the neighbourhood of Nemaus.* The morning-hours were spent in the *ephebesium*, or tennis-court; or in the library, which was furnished with Latin authors, profane and religious; the dinner by the lake, the latter by the bath. The table was twice spread, at dinner and supper, with hot wine, chilled and warm, and wine. During the intermediate times, the company slept, took the air by broad-chairs, and used the warm bath.

general, less attentive to his dignity than to the public interest, did not disdain to visit Theodoric in the character of an ambassador. He was received with courteous hospitality by Theodoric, the king of the Goths; but while Avitus laid the foundations of a solid alliance with that powerful nation, he was astonished by the intelligence, that the emperor Maximus was slain, and that Rome had been pillaged by the Vandals. A vacant throne, which he might ascend without guilt or danger, tempted his ambition; and the Visigoths were easily persuaded to support his claim by their irresistible suffrage. They loved the person of Avitus; they respected his virtues; and they were not insensible of the advantage, as well as honour, of giving an emperor to the West. The season was now approaching, in which the annual assembly of the seven provinces was held at Arles; their deliberations might perhaps be influenced by the presence of Theodoric, and his martial brothers; but their choice would naturally incline to the most illustrious of their countrymen. Avitus, after a decent resistance, accepted the imperial diadem from the representatives of Gaul; and his election was ratified by the acclamations of the barbarians and provincials. The formal consent of Marcian, emperor of the East, was solicited and obtained: but the senate, Rome, and

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A. D. 455.  
August 15.

\* *Several laws of Theodoric, 1481-574, would destroy the independence of Theodoric king of Gaul, struggling to overcome the united valour of Arles, as there were by those words of an emperor's intention.—Romanum andiam imperium. (Greg. Turc. l. 5. c. 11. in tom. II. p. 184.)*

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Italy; though humbled by their recent calamities, submitted with a secret murmur to the presumption of the Gothic usurper.

Character  
of Theodoric, King  
of the Visigoths,  
A. D. 422.  
466.

Theodoric, to whom Avitus was indebted for the purple, had acquired the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his elder brother Thorismund; and he justified this atrocious deed by the design which his predecessor had formed of violating his alliance with the empire.\* Such a crime might not be incompatible with the virtues of a barbarian; but the manners of Theodoric were gentle and humane; and posterity may contemplate without terror the original picture of a Gothic king, whom Sidonius had intimately observed, in the hours of peace and of social intercourse. In an epistle, dated from the court of Theulouze, the orator satisfies the curiosity of one of his friends, in the following description:—"By the majesty of his appearance, Theodoric would command the respect of those who are ignorant of his merit; and although he is born a prince, his merit would dignify a private station. He is of a middle stature, his body appears rather plump than fat, and in his well-proportioned

\* Theodoric, ally of the empire, who was named of the blood-royal of the Franks, acknowledges, and almost justifies, this; *Chap. 36*, the verse which then there *Avitus* has justly reprehended in *Ch. 36*, p. 276.

\* This satirical description (A. 1, ep. 11, p. 7-8) was written in some political mood. It was designed on the public eye, but had been shown by the friends of Sidonius, before it was inserted in the collection of his epistles. The first book was published by *Paris*, the *Library*, *Manuscript* *Library*, *Paris*, *1711*, p. 261.

" limbs, agility is united with muscular strength.  
 " If you examine his countenance, you will dis-  
 " tinguish a high forehead, large slazy eye-  
 " brows, an apilline nose, thin lips, a regular  
 " set of white teeth, and a fair complexion, that  
 " blushes more frequently from modesty than  
 " from anger. The ordinary distillation of his  
 " time, as far as it is exposed to the public view,  
 " may be succinctly represented. Before day-  
 " break, he repairs, with a small train, to his  
 " domestic chapel, where the service is performed  
 " by the Arian clergy: but those who presume  
 " to interpret his secret sentiments, consider this  
 " assiduous devotion as the effect of habit and po-  
 " licy. The rest of the morning is employed in  
 " the administration of his kingdom. His chair  
 " is surrounded by some military officers of decent  
 " aspect and behaviour: the noisy crowd of his  
 " barbarian guards occupies the half of audience:  
 " but they are not permitted to stand within the  
 " veils or curtains, that conceal the council-  
 " chamber from vulgar eyes. The ambassadors  
 " of the nations are successively introduced: Theo-  
 " doric listens with attention, answers them with  
 " abstract brevity, and either summons or de-  
 " lays, according to the nature of their busi-  
 " ness, his final resolution. About eight (the  
 " second hour) he rises from his throne, and visits

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\* I have supposed, in this portrait of Theodoric, several private circumstances, and technical phrases, which could be ascertained, or traced throughout, to those only who, like the contemporaries of Theodoric, had frequented the courts where Gothic manners were re-  
 spect to him, (Gibbon, Hist. Gothique, tom. 5, p. 484.)

CHAP. " either his treasury or his stables. If he chooses  
XXXVI. " to hunt, or at least to exercise himself on horse-  
" back, his bow is carried by a favourite youth :  
" but when the game is marked, he bends it with  
" his own hand, and seldom misses the object of  
" his aim : as a king, he disdains to bear arms  
" in such ignoble warfare ; but as a soldier, he  
" would blush to accept any military service which  
" he could perform himself. On common days,  
" his dinner is not different from the repast of a  
" private citizen ; but every Saturday, many ho-  
" nourable guests are invited to the royal table,  
" which, on these occasions, is served with the  
" elegance of Greece, the plenty of Gaul, and  
" the order and diligence of Italy.<sup>1</sup> The gold  
" or silver plate is less remarkable for its weight,  
" than for the brightness and curious workman-  
" ship : the taste is gratified without the help of  
" foreign and costly luxury ; the size and number  
" of the cups of wine are regulated with a strict  
" regard to the laws of temperance ; and the re-  
" spectful silence that prevails, is interrupted only  
" by grave and instructive conversation. After  
" dinner, Theodoric sometimes indulges himself  
" in a short slumber ; and as soon as he wakes, he  
" calls for the dice and tidies, encourages his  
" friends to forget the royal majesty, and is de-  
" lighted when they freely express the passions,  
" which are excited by the incidents of play. At

<sup>1</sup> Valer. III. *significans Græcorum, abundantiam Galliarum et  
cunctis Italianis præsertim præparat, solentem, diligens, regiam  
disciplinam.*

" this game, which in boys is the image of war,  
 " he alternately displays his eagerness, his skill,  
 " his patience, and his cheerful temper. If he  
 " loses, he laughs: he is modest and silent if he  
 " wins. Yet, notwithstanding this seeming indif-  
 " ference, his courtiers choose to solicit any fa-  
 " vour in the moments of victory; and I myself,  
 " in my applications to the king, have derived  
 " some benefit from my losses." Almost the  
 " ninth hour (three o'clock) the tide of business  
 " again returns, and flows incessantly till after  
 " sunset, when the signal of the royal supper dis-  
 " misses the weary crowd of suppliants and  
 " pleaders. At the supper, a more familiar re-  
 " past, buffoons and pantomimes are sometimes  
 " introduced, to divert, not to offend, the com-  
 " pany, by their ridiculous wit: but female  
 " singers, and the soft effeminate tones of mu-  
 " sic, are severely banished, and such martial  
 " tunes as animate the soul to deeds of valour  
 " are alone grateful to the ear of Theodoric. He  
 " retires from table: and the nocturnal guards  
 " are immediately posted at the entrance of the  
 " treasury, the palace, and the private apart-  
 " ments."

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When the king of the Visigoths encouraged  
 Avitus to assume the purple, he offered his per-  
 son and his forces as a faithful soldier of the

His expe-  
 dition into  
 Spain,  
 A. D. 455.

\* That about 455 a typical Visigothic soldier should be called to  
 join a civil or even military movement of Avitus, who, as a mili-  
 tary leader of Theodoric, was brought to command a military force  
 is borne by the story of Theodoric.

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THEODORIC.

regularly.<sup>2</sup> The exploits of Theodoric soon convinced the world, that he had not degenerated from the warlike virtues of his ancestors. After the establishment of the Goths in Aquitain, and the passage of the Vandals into Africa, the Suevi, who had fixed their kingdom in Gallicia, aspired to the conquest of Spain, and threatened to extinguish the feeble remains of the Roman dominion. The provincials of Carthage and Tarragona, afflicted by an hostile invasion, represented their injuries and their apprehensions. Count Frontin was despatched, in the name of the emperor Avitus, with advantageous offers of peace and alliance; and Theodoric interposed his weighty mediation, to declare that, unless his brother-in-law, the king of the Suevi, immediately retired, he should be obliged to arm in the cause of justice and of Rome. "Tell him," replied the haughty Rechisarius, "that I despise his friendship, and his arms; but that I shall soon try, whether he will dare to expect my arrival under the walls of Thoulouse." Such a challenge urged Theodoric to prevent the bold designs of his enemy: he passed the Pyrenees at the head of the Visigoths; the Franks and Burgundians served under his standard; and though he professed himself the dutiful servant of Avitus, he privately stipulated, for himself and his successors, the ab-

<sup>2</sup> Theodoric himself had given a solemn and voluntary promise of liberty, which was understood both in Gaul and Spain.

——— Roman ann. 16 June, August.

Prisage 12, May.

solite possession of the Spanish conquests. The two armies, or rather the two nations, encountered each other on the banks of the river Urbicus, about twelve miles from Astorga: and the decisive victory of the Goths appeared for a while to have extirpated the name and kingdom of the Suevi. From the field of battle Theodoric advanced to Braga, their metropolis, which still retained the splendid vestiges of its ancient commerce and dignity. His entrance was not polluted with blood, and the Goths respected the chastity of their female captives, more especially of the consecrated virgins: but the greatest part of the clergy and people were made slaves, and even the churches and altars were confounded in the universal pillage. The unfortunate king of the Suevi had escaped to one of the ports of the ocean; but the obstinacy of the winds opposed his flight: he was delivered to his implacable rival; and Rechimar, who neither desired nor expected mercy, received, with manly constancy, the death which he would probably have inflicted. After this bloody sacrifice to policy or resentment, Theodoric carried his victorious arms as far as Merida, the principal town of Lusitania, without meeting any resistance, except from the miracu-

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THEODORIC.

<sup>1</sup> *Quædam enim præcipua loca in Hispania sunt.*

*Notæ. De Civitate Vrbis, p. 341.*

From the design of the king of the Suevi, it is evident that the navigation from the ports of Galicia to the Mediterranean was known and practised. The ships of Bascon, or Braga, continually sailed along the coast, without daring to venture into the Atlantic.

CHAP. long powers of St. Eulalia; but he was stopped in  
XXXVI the full career of success, and recalled from Spain,  
before he could provide for the security of his  
conquests. In his retreat towards the Pyrenees,  
he revenged his disappointment on the country  
through which he passed; and, in the sack of Po-  
lencia and Astorga, he shewed himself a faithless  
ally, as well as a cruel enemy. Whilst the king  
of the Visigoths fought and vanquished in the  
name of Avitus, the reign of Avitus had expired;  
and both the honour and the interests of Theodoric  
were deeply wounded by the disgrace of a friend,  
whom he had seated on the throne of the western  
empire.\*

Avitus is  
deposed.  
A. D. 456.  
Sec. 12.

The pressing solicitations of the senate and peo-  
ple, persuaded the emperor Avitus to fix his resi-  
dence at Rome, and to accept the consulship for  
the ensuing year. On the first day of January,  
his son-in-law, Sidonius Apollinaris, celebrated  
his praises in a *panegyric* of six hundred verses;  
but this composition, though it was rewarded with  
a brass statue,† seems to contain a very moderate  
proportion, either of praise or of truth. The  
poet, if we may degrade that sacred name, exag-  
gerates the merit of a sovereign and a father: and  
his prophecy of a long and glorious reign was

\* This battle was in the most important part of the Chronicle of Isidore, who, as bishop of his Parish, was himself a spectator and a sufferer. *Isidore* iii. 44, p. 475, 476, 477, has expressed with pleasure on this fatal victory.

† At one of the galleries or galleries belonging to Pope's library, among the MSS. of famous writers and artists. *Walton* Epist. l. 14, epist. 14, p. 341. *Carm.* viii. p. 320.

soon contradicted by the event. Avitus, at a time when the imperial dignity was reduced to a pre-  
sidence of toil and danger, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italian luxury; age had not extinguished his amorous inclinations; and he is accused of insulting, with indiscreet and ungenerous raillery, the husbands whose wives he had seduced or violated.\* But the Romans were not inclined, either to excuse his faults, or to acknowledge his virtues. The several parts of the empire became every day more alienated from each other; and the stranger of Gaul was the object of popular hatred and contempt. The senate asserted their legislative claim in the election of an emperor; and their authority, which had been originally derived from the old constitution, was again fortified by the actual weakness of a declining monarchy. Yet even such a monarchy might have resisted the votes of an unarmed senate, if their discontent had not been supported, or perhaps inflamed, by Count Ricimer, one of the principal commanders of the barbarian troops, who formed the military defence of Italy. The daughter of Wullia, king of the Visigoths, was the mother of Ricimer; but he was descended, on the father's side, from the nation of the Sogvi;†

\* *Lebeau* agrees with a common late conjecture, in the name of the emperor of the city of Tivoli, *U. E. C. M. de l'an 2, p. 138*. An old Chronicle *de l'an 2, p. 215* mentions an emperor just of Tivoli, which seems more applicable to Rome than to Tivoli.

† *Strabo* (*l'Asie*) *Asie, III. 401* passes the great city of Rome, the capital here, as he does in *l'Asie, l'Asie, l'Asie*. This and other kingdoms.

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XXXI.  
—————

his pride, or patriotism, might be exasperated by the misfortunes of his countrymen; and he obeyed, with reluctance, an emperor, in whose elevation he had not been consulted. His faithful and important services against the common enemy, rendered him still more formidable;\* and, after destroying, on the coast of Corsica, a fleet of Vandals, which consisted of sixty galleys, Ricimer returned in triumph with the appellation of the Deliverer of Italy. He chose that moment to signify to Avitus, that his reign was at an end; and the feeble emperor, at a distance from his Gothic allies, was compelled, after a short and unavailing struggle, to abdicate the purple. By the clemency, however, or the contempt, of Ricimer,† he was permitted to descend from the throne, to the more desirable station of bishop of Placentia; but the resentment of the senate was still unsatisfied; and their inflexible severity pronounced the sentence of his death. He fled towards the Alps, with the humble hope, not of arming the Visigoths in his cause, but of securing his person and treasures in the sanctuary of Julian, one of the tutelar saints of Auvergne.‡ Disease, or the

\* See the Chronicle of Maxentius. Jordanes is also, p. 674, *supra* *scilicet* *hunc*, with some small, though significant, variations from the text of the original manuscript.

† The word *comperit*, *scilicet*, is the proper Latin for *contemptum*, *contemptum*, language of Victor Transmontanus, (in Chron. apud Scriptores Eusebii), by another place, he says *hunc*, *ex tunc* in *supplicium*. This reading would be more reasonable, but it is more *verisimile* and *conveniens*, than the phrase of Jordanes.

‡ He suffered, as it is supposed, in the persecution of Diocletian, *Statimonia*, *Mem. Eusebii*, vol. 2, p. 172, 696. Gregory of Tours,

hand of the executioner, strangled him on the road; yet his remains were decently transported to Brivias, or Brinodë, in his native province, and he reposed at the feet of his holy patron.\* Avitus left only one daughter, the wife of Sidonius Apollinarius, who inherited the patrimony of his father-in-law; lamenting, at the same time, the disappointment of his public and private expectations. His resentment prompted him to join, or at least to countenance, the measures of a rebellious faction in Gaul; and the poet had contracted some guilt, which it was incumbent on him to expiate, by a new tribute of flattery to the succeeding emperor.†

The successor of Avitus presents the welcome discovery of a great and heroic character, such as sometimes arise in a degenerate age, to vindicate the honour of the human species. The emperor Majorian has deserved the praises of his country-

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Character  
and circum-  
stances of  
Majorian,  
A. D. 461.

his personal victory, has dedicated to the glory of Julian the Martyr, an entire book, the Great Martyrdom, &c. in Med. Biblot. Paroiss. tom. xi. p. 681-676; in which he relates about fifty English verses pronounced by his verses.

\* Fragments of Tibullus D. N. S. D. p. 100 is similar, but incorrect, to the words of his countryman. The words of Tibullus, "sacra imperia," "sacra et cetera," seem to imply, that the death of Avitus was violent; but if Avitus had been sacred, Tibullus D. N. S. D. could suppose that he died of the plague.

\* Thus a useful appeal to the examples of his ancestors, Virgil and Horace, Tibullus bravely rebukes the Aetia, and promises posterity.

Et nulli dixeris imperiis Mæcenas exoritur  
Fœdatis placida Vinctæ ne cœca arboribus  
Sædula regis tibi avertit lingua, postea,  
Aurea necesse erit tunc tibi ut periculis.

Edm. Apoll. tom. II. p. 234.

See Dehne, Hist. Critique, tom. I. p. 445, &c.



wisdom, and unbounded liberality in a ready fortune. He followed the standard of Albin, contributed to his success, shared, and sometimes eclipsed, his glory; and at last excited the jealousy of the patrician, or rather of his wife, who found him too active from the service. Magnus, after the death of Albin, was recalled, and promoted; and his intimate connection with Constantine, was the immediate step by which he ascended the throne of the western empire. During the vacancy that succeeded the abdication of Avitus, the ambitious barbarian, whose birth excluded him from the imperial dignity, governed Italy, with the title of Patrician; resigned, to his friend, the conspicuous station of master-general of the cavalry and infantry; and, after an interval of some months, consented to the unanimous wish of the Romans, whose former Maxorian had solicited by a recent victory over the Alemanni.<sup>26</sup> He was invested with the purple at Ravenna; and the epistle which he addressed to the senate, will best describe his situation and his sentiments. "Your election, Con-

<sup>26</sup> This period has been the subject of much controversy, and it will be difficult to settle. It should seem, that Albin, the British and Maxian struggle, was governed by Albin; whose general, Magni, though it might not mislead, (Gibbon, *Decline*, c. 23, & 24, p. 107), and his connection with him, and his general conduct.

<sup>27</sup> The Alemanni had passed the Rhine, and were defeated at the Campi Catalaun, or Valley of Marston, through which the Tame flows, in its passage from Mount Atlas to the Lake Maggiore, (Gibbon, *Decline*, c. 23, p. 107, 110). This famous victory was won under Constantine (Theodosius, *Maximus*, 273, 274), and was the greatest of his reign.

CHAP. "valiant army, have made me your emperor,"  
 XXXVI. "May the propitious Deity direct and prosper  
 "the counsels and events of my administration,  
 "to your advantage, and to the public welfare!"  
 "For my own part, I did not aspire, I have sub-  
 "mitted, to reign; nor should I have discharged  
 "the obligations of a citizen, if I had refused,  
 "with base and selfish ingratitude, to support  
 "the weight of those labours, which were im-  
 "posed by the republic. Assist, therefore, the  
 "prince whom you have made; partake the du-  
 "ties which you have enjoined; and may our  
 "common endeavours promote the happiness of  
 "an empire, which I have accepted from your  
 "hands. Be assured, that, in our times, justice  
 "shall resume her ancient vigour, and that virtue  
 "shall become not only innocent but merito-  
 "rious. Let none, except the authors them-  
 "selves, be apprehensive of *delations*," which,  
 "as a subject, I have always condemned, and,  
 "as a prince, will severely punish. Our own  
 "vigilance, and that of our father, the patrician  
 "Ricimer, shall regulate all military affairs, and

\* Imperatoris me fecimus, P. C. eloquii vestre orationis, et Ro-  
 mani civitatis honoribus agimus, (Nicom. Neposus, iii. 16, p.  
 24, ed. Calaneo Ed. Thoma's.) Following precisely the traditional  
 sense of the subject.

———Pursuing active roles

Eight months require military, police, naval, and  
 all college work.——

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This language is serious and constitutional, and we may suspect,  
 that the clergy were not yet considered as distinct orders of the state.

\* *Delationes*, or *delations*, would afford a tolerable reading,  
 but there is much more sense and spirit in the latter, in which I have  
 therefore given the preference.

CHAP.  
XXXVI.

“ provide for the safety of the Roman world,  
 “ which we have saved from foreign and domestic  
 “ enemies.” You now understand the maxims  
 “ of my government: you may confide in the  
 “ faithful love and sincere assurances of a prince,  
 “ who has formerly been the companion of your  
 “ life and dangers; who still glories in the name  
 “ of senator, and who is anxious, that you should  
 “ never repent of the judgment which you have  
 “ pronounced in his favour.” The emperor,  
 who, amidst the ruins of the Roman world, re-  
 vived the ancient language of law and liberty,  
 which Trajan would not have disclaimed, must  
 have derived those generous sentiments from his  
 own heart: since they were not suggested to his  
 imitation by the customs of his age, or the ex-  
 ample of his predecessors.<sup>5</sup>

The private and public actions of Majorian  
 are very imperfectly known: but his laws, re-  
 markable for an original cast of thought and  
 expression, faithfully represent the character of a  
 sovereign, who loved his people, who sympathized  
 in their distress, who had studied the causes of  
 the decline of the empire, and who was capable  
 of applying (as far as such reformation was

The whole  
last laws,  
A. D. 458.  
461.

<sup>5</sup> An extreme want of a domestic code, occasioned by the in-  
 stitutions Majorian must understand the system of Aethas: whose death  
 he consequently viewed as a calamitous loss. On this occasion, the  
 emperor himself had chosen to describe the African Empire, the  
 nations of Africa, &c. that he may excite the dearest sense of  
 Aethas, (Hist. 206).

<sup>6</sup> See the whole art of epistle of Majorian to the senate, (Novell.  
 II. 17. p. 24). See the expression, *regnum nostrum*, here some signs  
 of the age, and thus all our society with the word *regnum*, which he  
 frequently retains.

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penalable judicious and effectual remedies to the public disorders? His regulations concerning the finances manifestly tended to remove, or at least to mitigate, the most intolerable grievances. I. From the first hour of his reign, he was sollicitous (I translate his own words) to relieve the wretched fortunes of the provincials, oppressed by the accumulated weight of impositions and superimpositions. With this view, he granted an universal amnesty, a final and absolute discharge of all arrears of tributes, of all debts, which, under any pretence, the fiscal officers might demand from the people. This wise declaration of absolute, vexations, and unprofitable claims, improved and purified the sources of the public revenue; and the subject, who could now look back without despair, might labour with hope and penitence for himself and for his country. II. In the assessment and collection of taxes, Majorian restored the ordinary jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates, and suppressed the extraordinary commissions which had been introduced, in the name of the emperor himself, or of the pretorian prefects. The domestic servants, who obtained such irregular powers, were insolent in their behaviour, and arbitrary in their demands: they affected to despise the subordinate tribunals,

but the focus of *Mykiss* likely was only about as accurate as any long and winding as the end of the Thimble Shoal. With a 175 p.m. start, *Mykiss* has not given any commentary on their additional plans.

\* From personal communication with author; see also *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19(8), 1067-1080.

and they were disappointed, if their fees and profits did not twice exceed the sum which they undertook to pay into the treasury. One instance of their extortion would appear incredible, were it not authenticated by the legislator himself. They exacted the whole payment in gold; but they refused the current coin of the empire, and would accept only such ancient pieces as were stamped with the names of Faustina or the Antonins. The subject, who was unprovided with these curious medals, had recourse to the expedient of compounding with their rapacious demands; or if he succeeded in the search, his imposition was doubtless, according to the weight and value of the money of former times.\* III.

“The antient corporation, (says the emperor, with the lesser senates, (so antiquity has justly styled them), deserve to be considered as the heart of the cities, and the sinews of the republic. And yet so low are they now reduced, by the injustice of magistrates and the venality of collectors, that many of their members, renouncing their dignity and their country, have taken refuge in distant and obscure walls.” He urges, and even compels, their return to their respective cities; but he removes the grievance which had forced them to desert the exercise

\* The learned Grevius thinks, p. 518, 519, 521, not without, he says, slight enquiry, that some of the Antonines might not be struck and signed, and those of the first century only, unstruck; Augustus, perhaps. Mosaicus gives testimony to all gold coins bearing the name of the emperor, from the silver, not to the weight, but to the standard.

CHAP.  
XXXVI.  
CONTINUED.

of their municipal functions. They are directed, under the authority of the provincial magistrates, to resume their office of levying the tribute; but, instead of being made responsible for the whole sum assessed on their district, they are only required to produce a regular account of the payments which they have actually received, and of the defaulters who are still indebted to the public. IV. But Majorian was not ignorant that these corporate bodies were too much inclined to retaliate the injustice and oppression which they had suffered; and he therefore revives the useful office of the *defenders of cities*. He exhorts the people to elect, in a full and free assembly, some man of discretion and integrity, who would dare to assert their privileges, to represent their grievances, to protect the poor from the tyranny of the rich, and to inform the emperor of the abuses that were committed under the sanction of his name and authority.

The fall  
of  
Rome.

The spectator, who casts a mournful view over the ruins of ancient Rome, is tempted to accuse the memory of the Goths and Vandals, for the mischief which they had neither science, nor power, nor perhaps inclination, to perpetrate. The tempest of war might strike some lofty towers to the ground; but the destruction which undermined the foundations of those massy fabrics, was prosecuted, slowly and silently, during a period of ten centuries; and the motives of interest, that afterwards operated without shame or controul, were securely checked by the taste and spirit of the emperor Majorian. The decay of

CHAP.  
XXXVI.

the city had gradually impaired the value of the public works. The circus and theatres might still excite, but they seldom gratified, the desires of the people: the temples which had escaped the zeal of the Christians, were no longer inhabited either by gods or men; the diminished crowds of the Romans were lost in the immense space of their baths and porticoes; and the stately libraries and halls of justice became useless to an indolent generation, whose repose was seldom disturbed, either by study, or business. The monuments of consular, or imperial, greatness were no longer revered, as the immortal glory of the capital; they were only esteemed as an inexhaustible mine of materials, cheaper, and more convenient, than the distant quarry. Specious petitions were continually addressed to the easy magistrates of Rome, which stated the want of stones or bricks for some necessary service: the fairest forms of architecture were rudely defaced for the sake of some paltry, or pretended, repairs; and the degenerate Romans, who converted the spoil to their own emolument, demolished, with sacrilegious hands, the labours of their ancestors. Majorian, who had often sighed over the desolation of the city, applied a severe remedy to the growing evil.\* He reserved to

\* The whole subject (Novell. Majorian. tit. 16. p. 82) is curious.

\*\* Antiquarium velorum, disceptatio, speciosa constructio, et ut aliquali respectu, magna dignitas. This last seems mistaken, as stated.

\*\*\* antiquorum præsens utilitas, constructio, per gratiam posterorum.

\*\*\*\* periculum de publicis bonis constructione, et translatio non

est utilitas, &c. With equal zeal, but with less power, Theodosius, in



CHAP. XXXVI.  
 the prince and senate the sole cognizance of the  
 extreme cases which might justify the destruc-  
 tion of an ancient edifice; imposed a fine of fifty  
 pounds of gold (two thousand pounds sterling)  
 on every magistrate who should presume to grant  
 such illegal and scandalous licence; and threaten-  
 ed to extinguish the criminal obedience of their sub-  
 ordinate officers, by a severe whipping, and the  
 amputation of both their hands. In the last  
 instance, the legislator might seem to forget the  
 proportion of guilt and punishment; but his zeal  
 arose from a generous principle, and Majorian  
 was anxious to protect the monuments of that  
 age, in which he would have desired and deserved  
 to live. The emperor conceived, that it was his  
 interest to increase the number of his subjects;  
 that it was his duty to guard the purity of the  
 marriage-bed; but the means which he employed  
 to accomplish these salutary purposes, are of an  
 ambiguous, and perhaps exceptionable, kind.  
 The pious maids, who consecrated their virginity  
 to Christ, were restrained from taking the veil,  
 till they had reached their fortieth year. Widows  
 under that age were compelled to form a sexual  
 alliance within the term of five years, by the ac-  
 ceptance of half their wealth to their nearest re-  
 lations, or to the state. Unequal marriages were  
 condemned or annulled. The punishment of  
 confiscation and exile was deemed so inadequate

the nineteenth century, reported the same customs. *Vie de Théodose*, tom. i. p. 286, 287. It is possible that History, I don't see  
 is mentioned of the custom but not of the age of Marcella on entering  
 ing office, to which my pen was previously confined.

to the guilt of military, that, if the criminal returned to Italy, he might, by the express declaration of Majorian, be slain with impunity.\*

CHAP.  
XXVII.  
continued.

While the emperor Majorian assiduously laboured to restore the happiness and virtue of the Romans, he encountered the arms of Genseric, from his character and situation, their most formidable enemy. A fleet of Vandals and Moors landed at the mouth of the Liris, or Garigliano: but the imperial troops surprised and attacked the disorderly barbarians, who were encumbered with the spoils of Campania; they were chased with slaughter to their ships, and their leader, the king's brother-in-law, was found in the number of the slain.† Such vigilance might announce the character of the new reign; but the strictest vigilance, and the most numerous forces, were insufficient to protect the long-extended coast of Italy from the depredations of a naval war. The goblin opinion had imposed a sabler and more arduous task on the genius of Majorian. Rome expected from him alone the restitution of Africa; and the design which he formed, of attacking the Vandals in their new settlements, was the result of bold and judicious policy. If the intrepid emperor could have infused his own spirit into the youth of Italy; if he could

Majorian  
preparing  
to invade  
Africa.  
A. D. 467.

\* The emperor attests the death of Regillus, cousin of Theodoric, in a style of ceremonial respect, which evinces almost the personal acquaintance. (Orosius, lib. ii. p. 175.) The law of Majorian, which punished obscure soldiers, was soon afterwards repealed by his successor Avitus. (Orosius, lib. ii. p. 171.)

† Sidon. Epistolog. Majorian, 261. 467.

CHAP.  
XXV.

have reviled in the sight of Mars, the manly exercises in which he had always surpassed his equals; he might have marched against Genseric at the head of a *Roman* army. Such a reformation of national manners might be embraced by the rising generation; but it is the misfortune of those princes who laboriously sustain a declining monarchy, that, to obtain some immediate advantage, or to avert some impending danger, they are forced to countenance, and even to multiply, the most pernicious abuses. Majorian, like the weakest of his predecessors, was reduced to the disgraceful expedient of substituting barbarian auxiliaries in the place of his unworthy subjects: and his superior abilities could only be displayed in the rigour and dexterity with which he wielded a dangerous instrument, so apt to recoil on the hand that used it. Besides the confederates, who were already engaged in the service of the empire, the fame of his liberality and valour attracted the nations of the Danube, the Rostomians, and perhaps of the Taurus. Many thousands of the bravest subjects of Attila, the Gepids, the Ostrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Alani, assembled in the plains of Liguria: and their formidable strength was balanced by their mutual animosities.\* They passed the Alps in a severe winter. The emperor led the way on foot, and in complete armour;

\* The nature of the story, and passage of the Alps, supplies the most abundant grounds of the foregoing, 417-422. Cf. in that point, the *Propera*, A. 1. c. 11, p. 48-50. It is a more satisfactory confirmation, than either *Gregory* or *Victor*.

sounding, with his long staff, the depth of the ice, or snow, and encouraging the Scythians, who complained of the extreme cold, by the cheerful assurance, that they should be satisfied with the heat of Africa. The citizens of Lyons had presumed to shut their gates: they soon implor'd, and experienced, the clemency of Majorian. He vanquish'd Theodoric in the field; and admitted to his friendship and alliance, a king whom he had found not unworthy of his arms. The beneficial, though precarious, reunion of the greatest part of Gaul and Spain, was the effect of persuasion, as well as of force;\* and the independent Bagaudæ, who had escaped, or resisted, the oppression of former reigns, were disposed to confide in the virtues of Majorian. His camp was fill'd with barbarian allies: his throne was supported by the zeal of an affectionate people: that the emperor had foreseen, that it was impossible, without a maritime power, to achieve the conquest of Africa. In the first Punic war, the republic had exerted such incredible diligence, that, within sixty days after the first stroke of the axe had been given in the forest, a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys proudly rode at anchor in the sea.<sup>†</sup> Under circumstances

CHAP.  
XXXVI.  
MAJORIAN.

\* To give an idea, as to the nature of the just and terrible chastisement of Lyons, (Ætroph. Leges p. 45.) in a short fragment, which scarcely gives light on the history of Majorian. Strabo has represented the ancient and armory of the Volturni, which were solemnly proclaimed in Canosa; and are march'd to the Clavenna at Placentia.

† Plinius l. vi. c. 2. He assumes himself with the poetical fancy, that the first had been constructed with ships; and indeed the whole transcribing, as it is related in the first book of Polybius, declares the truth since the prodigious course of human events.

CHAP. much less favourable, Majorian equalled the spi-  
 XXXVI. rit and perseverance of the ancient Romans.  
 The woods of the Apennine were felled: the  
 arsenals and manufactures of Ravenna and Mis-  
 sium were restored; Italy and Gaul vied with  
 each other in liberal contributions to the public  
 service; and the imperial navy of three hundred  
 large galleys, with an adequate proportion of  
 transports and smaller vessels, was collected in  
 the secure and capacious harbour of Carthage in  
 Spain.\* The intrepid countenance of Majorian  
 animated his troops with a confidence of  
 victory; and if we might credit the historian  
 Procopius, his courage sometimes hurried him  
 beyond the bounds of prudence. Anxious to  
 explore, with his own eyes, the state of the Vn-  
 dals, he ventured, after disguising the colour of  
 his hair, to visit Carthage, in the character of  
 his own ambassador: and Genseric was after-  
 wards justified by the discovery, that he had  
 entertained and dismissed the emperor of the  
 Romans. Such an anecdote may be rejected as  
 an impossible fiction: but it is a fiction which  
 would not have been imagined, unless in the life  
 of a hero.<sup>†</sup>

\* *Antiquit. de p. v. p. 111. p. 112. p. 113. p. 114. p. 115. p. 116. p. 117. p. 118. p. 119. p. 120. p. 121. p. 122. p. 123. p. 124. p. 125. p. 126. p. 127. p. 128. p. 129. p. 130. p. 131. p. 132. p. 133. p. 134. p. 135. p. 136. p. 137. p. 138. p. 139. p. 140. p. 141. p. 142. p. 143. p. 144. p. 145. p. 146. p. 147. p. 148. p. 149. p. 150. p. 151. p. 152. p. 153. p. 154. p. 155. p. 156. p. 157. p. 158. p. 159. p. 160. p. 161. p. 162. p. 163. p. 164. p. 165. p. 166. p. 167. p. 168. p. 169. p. 170. p. 171. p. 172. p. 173. p. 174. p. 175. p. 176. p. 177. p. 178. p. 179. p. 180. p. 181. p. 182. p. 183. p. 184. p. 185. p. 186. p. 187. p. 188. p. 189. p. 190. p. 191. p. 192. p. 193. p. 194. p. 195. p. 196. p. 197. p. 198. p. 199. p. 200. p. 201. p. 202. p. 203. p. 204. p. 205. p. 206. p. 207. p. 208. p. 209. p. 210. p. 211. p. 212. p. 213. p. 214. p. 215. p. 216. p. 217. p. 218. p. 219. p. 220. p. 221. p. 222. p. 223. p. 224. p. 225. p. 226. p. 227. p. 228. p. 229. p. 230. p. 231. p. 232. p. 233. p. 234. p. 235. p. 236. p. 237. p. 238. p. 239. p. 240. p. 241. p. 242. p. 243. p. 244. p. 245. p. 246. p. 247. p. 248. p. 249. p. 250. p. 251. p. 252. p. 253. p. 254. p. 255. p. 256. p. 257. p. 258. p. 259. p. 260. p. 261. p. 262. p. 263. p. 264. p. 265. p. 266. p. 267. p. 268. p. 269. p. 270. p. 271. p. 272. p. 273. p. 274. p. 275. p. 276. p. 277. p. 278. p. 279. p. 280. p. 281. p. 282. p. 283. p. 284. p. 285. p. 286. p. 287. p. 288. p. 289. p. 290. p. 291. p. 292. p. 293. p. 294. p. 295. p. 296. p. 297. p. 298. p. 299. p. 300. p. 301. p. 302. p. 303. p. 304. p. 305. p. 306. p. 307. p. 308. p. 309. p. 310. p. 311. p. 312. p. 313. p. 314. p. 315. p. 316. p. 317. p. 318. p. 319. p. 320. p. 321. p. 322. p. 323. p. 324. p. 325. p. 326. p. 327. p. 328. p. 329. p. 330. p. 331. p. 332. p. 333. p. 334. p. 335. p. 336. p. 337. p. 338. p. 339. p. 340. p. 341. p. 342. p. 343. p. 344. p. 345. p. 346. p. 347. p. 348. p. 349. p. 350. p. 351. p. 352. p. 353. p. 354. p. 355. p. 356. p. 357. p. 358. p. 359. p. 360. p. 361. p. 362. p. 363. p. 364. p. 365. p. 366. p. 367. p. 368. p. 369. p. 370. p. 371. p. 372. p. 373. p. 374. p. 375. p. 376. p. 377. p. 378. p. 379. p. 380. p. 381. p. 382. p. 383. p. 384. p. 385. p. 386. p. 387. p. 388. p. 389. p. 390. p. 391. p. 392. p. 393. p. 394. p. 395. p. 396. p. 397. p. 398. p. 399. p. 400. p. 401. p. 402. p. 403. p. 404. p. 405. p. 406. p. 407. p. 408. p. 409. p. 410. p. 411. p. 412. p. 413. p. 414. p. 415. p. 416. p. 417. p. 418. p. 419. p. 420. p. 421. p. 422. p. 423. p. 424. p. 425. p. 426. p. 427. p. 428. p. 429. p. 430. p. 431. p. 432. p. 433. p. 434. p. 435. p. 436. p. 437. p. 438. p. 439. p. 440. p. 441. p. 442. p. 443. p. 444. p. 445. p. 446. p. 447. p. 448. p. 449. p. 450. p. 451. p. 452. p. 453. p. 454. p. 455. p. 456. p. 457. p. 458. p. 459. p. 460. p. 461. p. 462. p. 463. p. 464. p. 465. p. 466. p. 467. p. 468. p. 469. p. 470. p. 471. p. 472. p. 473. p. 474. p. 475. p. 476. p. 477. p. 478. p. 479. p. 480. p. 481. p. 482. 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Without the help of a personal interview, Genseric was sufficiently acquainted with the genius and designs of his adversary. He practised his customary arts of fraud and delay; but he practised them without success. His applications for peace became each hour more submissive, and perhaps more sincere; but the inflexible Majorian had adopted the ancient maxim, that Rome could not be safe, as long as Carthage existed in a hostile state. The king of the Vandals distrusted the valour of his native subjects, who were enervated by the luxury of the South;\* he suspected the fidelity of the vanquished people, who abhorred him as an Arian tyrant; and the desperate measure, which he executed, of reducing Mauritania into a desert,† could not defeat the operations of the Roman emperor, who was at liberty to land his troops on any part of the African coast. But Genseric was saved from impending and inevitable ruin, by the treachery of some powerful subjects; envious, or apprehensive, of their master's success. Guided by their secret intelligence, he surprised the unguarded

CHAP.  
XXVI.  
The fall of  
his fleet.

— *Synonymus potius  
Fuerunt, rather had been possible enim.  
Quæ pueri dæm præcipue erant.*

*Pliny's Majorian. 124.*

He afterwards applied to Claudius, iniquity as it should seem, the name of his subjects.

\* He burnt the villages, and poisoned the springs. (Plinius, p. 41.) Diderot (Hist. Critique, tom. 6, p. 484) observes, that the impression which the Moors made in the earth, might expose his numerous wealth. Two or three hundred sets are sometimes dug in the same place, and each set contains at least four hundred trinkets of various kinds. Travels, p. 138.

FRAT. fleet in the bay of Carthage: many of the ships  
 XXXVI. were sunk, or taken, or burnt; and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day.<sup>8</sup> After this event, the behaviour of the two antagonists shewed them superior to their fortune. The Vandal, instead of being elated by this accidental victory, immediately renewed his solicitations for peace. The emperor of the West, who was capable of forming great designs, and of supporting heavy disappointments, consented to a treaty, or rather to a suspension of arms: in the full assurance that, before he could restore his navy, he should be supplied with provocations to justify a second war. Majorian returned to Italy, to prosecute his labours for the public happiness; and, as he was conscious of his own integrity, he might long remain ignorant of the dark conspiracy which threatened his throne and his life. The recent misfortune of Carthage sullied the glory which had dazzled the eyes of the multitude: almost every description of civil and military officers were exasperated against the Reformer, since they all derived some advantage from the abuses which he endeavoured to suppress; and the patrician Ricimer impelled the insatiable passions of the barbarians against a prince whom he esteemed and hated. The virtues of Majorian could not protect him from the impetuous sedition, which broke out in the camp

<sup>8</sup> Majorian, who was sold to Gallaica from the power of Ricimer, boldly and honestly declares, Vandall per proditoris atrocitatem, &c. His *Proditoris*, however, the name of the traitor.

near Tervinum, at the foot of the Alps. He was compelled to abdicate the imperial purple: five days after his abdication, it was reported that he died of a dysentery;\* and the humble tomb, which covered his remains, was venerated by the respect and gratitude of succeeding generations.† The private character of Majorian is spent love and respect. Malicious enmity and satire excited his indignation, or, if he himself were the object, his contempt: but he protected the freedom of wit, and in the hours which the emperor gave to the familiar society of his friends, he could indulge his taste for plebeianry, without degrading the majesty of his rank.‡

It was not perhaps without some regret, that Ricimer sacrificed his friend to the interest of his ambition; but he resolved, in a second choice, to avoid the independent preference of superior virtue and merit. At his command, the obsequious

CHAP.  
XXXVI  
continued.

His death.  
A. D. 461.  
August 1

Reimer  
tragedy was  
for the  
cause of  
Ricimer.  
A. D. 461-  
467.

\* Prætor. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. p. 124. The testimony of history is clear and unequivocal. Majorianus de Galla Roma, re-  
" cecidit, et Romanæ imperii et viciis viri infortunati sollicitudo  
" cessit. Multis hinc partibus et ludibris rebus totius, quæ  
" diversis circumstantiis." Amm. Marc. Severus, and I am un-  
willing to refuse either of the words, as they express the different cir-  
cumstances also noted in the fragments against Majorian.

† See the Epitome of Eusebius, l. vi. c. 11, under Valentinian.  
Book i. p. 702. It is the sad history, that Ricimer was ready  
to take of Ricimer's assassination that seems to be certain, and his power  
decayed could not resist.

‡ Soliman gives a touching account of a Legion, A. D. 460, of a  
copper or silver, in which he was killed the Majorian, a short time  
before his death. He had the intention of raising a revolt against  
him; but a small detachment opposed him. Soliman describes, in  
" 1811, a small detachment opposed him, and a detachment of soldiers, yet per-  
" sists, in carrying the inscription found at the same place."

CHAP.  
XXV.

Senate of Rome bestowed the imperial title on  
 Libius Severus, who ascended the throne of the  
 West, without emerging from the obscurity of a  
 private condition. History has scarcely deigned  
 to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or  
 his death. Severus expired, as soon as his life be-  
 came inconvenient to his patron: and it would  
 be useless to discriminate his nominal reign in  
 the vacant interval of six years, between the  
 death of Majorian, and the elevation of Anthemi-  
 us. During that period, the government was  
 in the hands of Ricimer alone: and although  
 the modest barbarian disclaimed the name of  
 king, he accumulated treasures, formed a separate  
 army, regulated private alliances, and ruled  
 Italy with the same independent and despotic  
 authority which was afterwards exercised by  
 Odoacer and Theodoric. But his dominions  
 were bounded by the Alps: and two Roman  
 generals, Marcellinus and Egidius, maintained  
 their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting  
 with disdain, the phantom which he styled an  
 emperor. Marcellinus still adhered to the old  
 religion: and the devout pagans, who secretly  
 disobeyed the laws of the church and state, up-  
 plauded his profound skill in the science of di-  
 vination. But he possessed the more valuable

Reign of  
 Marcelli-  
 nus in  
 Pannonia.

\* *Constantine* (Paris, 1777) *Constantine* (Paris, 1777).

*Augustus* (Lipsius, 1777) *Augustus* (Lipsius, 1777).

*Constantine* (Paris, 1777).

And see also list of the emperors, composed about the year of Christ  
 300, by the same party, and also the emperor at Rome, (Constantine  
 Nov. ad Rome, p. 111, 112).

CHAP.  
XXXV.  
MARCELLINUS.

qualifications of learning, virtue, and courage; the study of the Latin Literature had improved his taste; and his military talents had recommended him to the esteem and confidence of the great Elms, in whose ruin he was involved. By a timely flight, Marcellinus escaped the rage of Valentinian, and boldly asserted his liberty amidst the convulsions of the western empire. His voluntary, or reluctant, submission to the authority of Majorian, was rewarded by the government of Sicily, and the command of an army, stationed in that island to oppose, or to attack, the Vandals; but his barbarian mercenaries, after the emperor's death, were tempted to revolt by the artful liberality of Ricimer. At the head of a band of faithful followers, the intrepid Marcellinus occupied the province of Dalmatia, assumed the title of patrician of the West, secured the love of his subjects by a mild and equitable reign, built a fleet, which checked the dominion of the Hædrætic, and alternately alarmed the coasts of Italy and of Africa. *Agidius*, the master-general of Gaul, who equalled, or at least who imitated, the heroes of ancient Rome,\* proclaimed his immortal re-

and of  
Agidius in  
Gaul.

\* *Agidius*, who is always represented by the virtues of nobility, illustrates this advantageous portrait of Marcellinus (which makes him preferred) in the partial view of some pagan historians, (Hist. des Consulaires, tom. vi, p. 226).

\* *Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i, c. 8, p. 181.* In various physical instances of the life of Marcellinus, it is not easy to reconcile the Greek historians with the Latin Character of the times.

\* I must apply to *Agidius* the present which *Julianus* (Procop. Hist. l. i, c. 8) attributes to a famous master-general, who was named

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 continued against the interests of his beloved master. A brave and numerous army was attached to his standard: and, though he was prevented by the arts of Ricimer, and the arms of the Visigoths, from marching to the gates of Rome, he maintained his independent sovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered the name of Sigisvult respectable both in peace and war. The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king: his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that singular honour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince. The authority of Sigisvult ended only with his life; and the suspicions of poison and secret violence, which derived some countenance from the character of Ricimer, were eagerly entertained by the passionate credulity of the Goths.\*

Sigisvult was  
 of the Vandal  
 race.  
 A. D. 482.  
 483.

The kingdom of Italy, a name to which the western empire was gradually reduced, was

included in the kingdom of Majorica. According to some writers, particularly the Christian (p. 173), and others (p. 174) his territory extends.

\* Gies. Tassin. l. iv. p. 12, in tom. ii. p. 168. The Two Huns, whose ideas were superficial and modern, too excited some objections against the story of Childeric, (Hist. de France, tom. 1. Preface Historique, p. 140, 141) but they have been fully answered by Fabius, (Hist. Polytom. tom. 1. p. 303, 304) and by two authors who disputed the point of the Academy of Sciences, &c. 1744, 1745, 1746. But even at the gate of Childeric's tomb it is common and usual to profess the life of Sigisvult beyond the date assigned by the Chronicle of Italy; so he turns the test of Gregory, by giving power, death, instead of others.

afflicted, under the reign of Ricimer, by the incessant depredations of the Vandal pirates.\* CHAP. XXXVI.  
In the spring of each year they equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage: and Genseric himself, though in a very advanced age, still commanded in person the most important expeditions. His designs were concealed with impenetrable secrecy, till the moment that he hoisted sail. When he was asked by his pilot, what course he should steer, — "Leave the determination to the winds," (replied the barbarian, with pious arrogance); *they will transport us to the guilty coast, whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice.*" But if Genseric himself deigned to issue more precise orders, he judged the most wealthy to be the most criminal. The Vandals repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily: they were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean;

\* The naval war of Genseric is described by Procopius, *(Hæcæta Agathæ)* p. 471; Procopius, *(de Bell. Vandal.)* l. i. c. 3. p. 189, 190, and c. 11, p. 129; Victor Vandal, *(de Romul. Vandal.)* l. i. c. 17, and Bunsen, p. 461-487; and in the three passages of Ptolemy, whose chronological order is manifestly corresponded to the military acts of Genseric and Ricimer. *(Vind. Geogr. iii. 441-444. Majoran. Geogr. vi. 325-326. 334-335. Antonin. Geogr. ix. 344-346.)* In the passage the poet Lucan employed in his subject, and expressed a wrong idea, by a lively image:

——— *Itur Vandalum loca.*

CHAP. 36. de bellis vandalis et de rebus gætharum.

MURÆI viciissimæ: curatissimæ: viciissimæ: viciissimæ.

Tertullianus Constantinus viciissimæ: viciissimæ: viciissimæ.

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XXXVI.

and their arms spread desolation, or terror, from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. As they were more ambitious of spoil than of glory, they seldom attacked any fortified cities, or engaged any regular troops in the open field. But the celerity of their motions enabled them, almost at the same time, to threaten and to attack the most distant objects, which attracted their desires; and as they always embarked a sufficient number of horses, they had no sooner landed, than they swept the dismayed country with a body of light cavalry. Yet, notwithstanding the example of their king, the entire Vandals and Alani insensibly declined this valourous and perilous warfare: the hardy generation of the first conquerors was almost extinguished, and their sons, who were born in Africa, enjoyed the delicious baths and gardens which had been acquired by the valour of their fathers. Their place was readily supplied by a various multitude of Moors and Romans, of captives and outlaws, and those desperate wretches, who had already violated the laws of their country, were the most eager to promote the atrocious acts which disgrace the victories of Genseric. In the treatment of his unhappy prisoners, he sometimes consulted his avarice, and sometimes indulged his cruelty; and the massacre of five hundred noble citizens of Zant, or Zazynthus, whose mangled bodies he cast into the Ionian sea, was imputed, by the public indignation, to his latest posterity.

Such crimes could not be excused by any provocations; but the war, which the king of the Vandals prosecuted against the Roman empire, was justified by a specious and reasonable motive. The widow of Valentinian, Eudoxia, whom he had led captive from Rome to Carthage, was the sole heiress of the Theodosian house: her elder daughter, Eudocia, became the reluctant wife of Himeric, his eldest son; and the stern father, asserting a legal claim, which could not easily be refuted or satisfied, demanded a just proportion of the imperial patrimony. An adequate, or at least a valuable, compensation, was offered by the eastern emperor, to purchase a necessary peace. Eudoxia, and her younger daughter, Placidia, were honourably restored, and the fury of the Vandals was confined to the limits of the western empire. The Italians, destitute of a naval force, which alone was capable of protecting their coasts, implored the aid of the more fortunate nations of the East; who had formerly acknowledged, in peace and war, the supremacy of Rome. But the perpetual division of the two empires had alienated their interest and their inclinations; the faith of a recent treaty was alleged: and the western Romans, instead of arms and ships, could only obtain the assistance of a cold and ineffectual mediation. The haughty Belisair, who had long struggled with the difficulties of his situation, was at length reduced to address the throne of Constantinople, in the humble language of a subject: and Italy, un-

CHAP.  
XXVII.

Negotiations with the eastern emperor, A. D. 447, &amp;c.

FRAT.  
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—————

mitted, as the price and security of the alliance, to accept a master from the choice of the superior of the East.\* It is not the purpose of the present chapter, or even of the present volume, to continue the distinct series of the Byzantine history; but a concise view of the reign and character of the emperor Leo, may explain the last efforts that were attempted to save the falling empire of the West.†

Leo, emperor of the East, A. D. 457-474.

Since the death of the younger Theodosius, the domestic repose of Constantinople had never been interrupted by war or faction. Pulcheria had bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the East, on the modest virtue of Marcian: he gratefully revered her august rank and virgin chastity; and, after her death, he gave his people the example of the religious worship, that was due to the memory of the imperial saint.‡ Attentive

\* The poet himself is compelled to acknowledge the disaster of Rome. —

*Prostrata iacebat Roma, quæq; publica lora*

*Imperium, populoque sua Mæne regebat.*

*Prostrata per vixit æquis.* —

His address has been compared to the Tiber, and Rhene, by the mistake of the very gods, who speak himself as Constantine, the person, not emperor, and emperor the friendship of Arcadius, the father of the East. This Eastern preliminary, which the genius of Claudian had used and abused, is the constant and insensible precursor of the name of Marcian.

† The original editions of the reign of Marcian, Leo, and Zeno, are referred to some imperfect fragments, whose collections must be corrected from the more recent compilations of Theophanes, Zonaras, and Callistus.

‡ St. Pulcheria died A. D. 442. One year before her second husband, and her father, is celebrated on the 12th of September by the eastern Greeks; and designated as the patroness patroness to protect all those to whom she is dedicated. — See Theophanes, *Myriobolus* *Eccl. hist.* 37, p. 151-166.

to the prosperity of his own dominions, Marrian seemed to behold, with indifference, the misfortunes of Rome; and the obstinate refusal of a brave and active prince to draw his sword against the Vandals, was ascribed to a secret poisoning which had formerly been exacted from him when he was a captive in the power of Genseric.<sup>a</sup> The death of Marrian, after a reign of seven years, would have exposed the East to the danger of a popular election: if the superior weight of a single family had not been able to incline the balance in favour of the candidate whose interest they supported. The patriarch Aspar might have placed the diadem on his own head, if he would have subscribed the Nicene creed.<sup>b</sup> During three generations, the armies of the East were successively commanded by his father, by himself, and by his son Ardaburius: his barbarian guards formed a military force that overawed the palace and the capital; and the liberal distribution of his immense treasures, rendered Aspar as popular, as he was powerful. He recommended the obscure name of Leo of Thence, a military tribune, and the principal steward of his household. His nomination was unanimously ratified by the senate; and the servant of Aspar received the imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch or bishop, who was permitted to express, by this unusual ceremony,

<sup>a</sup> See *Procopius de Bell. Vandal.* lib. i. c. 1. p. 182.

<sup>b</sup> From this difficulty of Aspar to convert the Nicene Creed, it may be inferred that the union of letters was perpetual and indissoluble, even that of barbarian conquest to the second generation.

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XXV.  
PART II.

the suffrage of the Senate? This emperor, the first of the name of Leo, has been distinguished by the title of the *Great*; from a succession of princes, who gradually fixed, in the opinion of the Greeks, a very humble standard of heroic, or at least of royal, perfection. Yet the temperate firmness with which Leo resisted the oppression of his benefactor, shewed that he was conscious of his duty and of his prerogative. Aspar was astonished to find that his influence could no longer appoint a prefect of Constantinople: he presumed to reproach his sovereign with a breach of promise; and, insolently shaking his purple,—"It is not proper," (said he), "that the man who is invested with this garment, should be guilty of lying."—"Nor is it proper," (replied Leo), "that a prince should be compelled to resign his own judgment, and the public interest, to the will of a subject." After this extraordinary scene, it was impossible that the reconciliation of the emperor and the patrician could be sincere; or, at least, that it could be solid and permanent. An army of Isaurians\* was secretly levied and introduced into Constantinople; and

\* Theophrastus, p. 44. This appears to be the first notice of a settlement, which all the Christian princes of the world have since adopted, and from which all empires have derived the most formidable consequence.

\* Callixtus, pp. 444, 445, who was conversant with the affairs of lower Asia, has preserved the remarkable words of Aspar, and his answers, on this singular conjuncture, &c. &c.

\* The spirit of the testimony against the eastern empire in the old invading troops of Rome and Byzantium has it really in the last century of those barbarians, who maintained their force independent ever about two hundred and thirty years.

while Leo undermined the authority, and prepared the disgrace, of the family of Aspar, his mild and cautious behaviour restrained them from any rash and desperate attempts, which might have been fatal to themselves, or their enemies. The measures of peace and war were affected by this internal revolution. As long as Aspar degraded the majesty of the throne, the secret correspondence of religion and interest engaged him to favour the cause of Genesius. When Leo had delivered himself from that ignominious servitude, he listened to the complaints of the Italians; resolved to extirpate the tyranny of the Vandals; and declared his alliance with his colleague, Anthemius, whom he solemnly invested with the diadem and purple of the West.

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XXXVI.  
continued

The virtues of Anthemius have perhaps been magnified, since the imperial descent, which he could only derive from the usurper Procopius, has been swelled into a line of emperors.\* But the merit of his immediate parents, their honours, and their riches, rendered Anthemius one of the most illustrious subjects of the East. His father Procopius obtained, after his Persian embassy, the rank of general and patrician; and the name of Anthemius was derived from his maternal

Anthemius, emperor of the West, A. D. 457-472.

— *Totum hoc in seculo*

*Procopius patrem suum et patris principem*

*Anthemius vocat a patre.*

The poet Phaedrus, *Properius*, *Anthemius* 37-38, and proceeds to relate the parents and fortunes of the future emperor, with which he must have been very imperfectly acquainted.

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XXVI.  
-----

grandfather, the celebrated prefect, who protected, with so much ability and success, the infant reign of Theodosius. The grandson of the prefect was raised above the condition of a private subject, by his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the emperor Marcian. This splendid alliance, which might supersede the necessity of merit, hastened the promotion of Anthemius to the successive dignities of count, of master-general, of consul, and of patrician; and his merit or fortune claimed the honours of a victory, which was obtained on the banks of the Danube, over the Huns. Without indulging an extravagant ambition, the son-in-law of Marcian might hope to be his successor; but Anthemius supported the disappointment with courage and patience; and his subsequent elevation was universally approved by the public, who esteemed him worthy to reign, till he ascended the throne.\* The emperor of the West marched from Constantinople, attended by several counts of high distinction, and a body of guards, almost equal to the strength and numbers of a regular army: he entered Rome in triumph, and the choice of Leo was confirmed by the senate, the people, and the barbarian confederates of Italy.† The solemn inauguration of Anthemius was followed by the

A. D. 457,  
April 15.

\* Socrates *Historien*, with various additions, that this disappointment which was given to the choice of Anthemius, (110, 622), who declined the empire, and voluntarily proposed another, (111, 601).

† The great agula celebrated the coronation of all orders of the state, (22-27); and the *Claviger* of *Isidore* preserves the names which attended her march.

nuptials of his daughter and the patrician Ricimer; a fortunate event, which was considered as the firmest security of the union and happiness of the state. The wealth of two empires was ostentatiously displayed; and many senators completed their ruin by an expensive effort to disguise their poverty. All serious business was suspended during this festival; the courts of justice were shut; the streets of Rome, the theatres, the places of public and private resort, resounded with hymnical songs and dances; and the royal bride, clothed in silken robes, with a crown on her head, was conducted to the palace of Ricimer, who had changed his military dress for the habit of a consul and a senator. On this memorable occasion, Sidonius, whose early ambition had been so fatally blasted, appeared as the orator of Auvergne, among the provincial deputies who addressed the throne with congratulations or complaints.\* The calends of January were now approaching, and the venal poet, who had loved Avitus, and esteemed Majorian, was persuaded, by his friends, to celebrate, in heroic verse, the merit, the felicity, the second consulship, and the future triumphs of the emperor Anthemius. Sidonius pronounced, with assurance and success, a panegyric which is still extant; and whatever might be the imperfections, either of the subject

A. D. 468.  
January 1

\* Sidonius's oration upon the nuptials of Ricimer, and the poem on Anthemius, are upon publick occasions of congratulation. The journey of Sidonius from Lyons, and the festival of Rome, are illustrated with some notes. See Voltaire, 5, p. 323; epist. 9, p. 31.



CHAP.  
XXV.  
*(continued)*

The Festival  
of the  
Euphrates  
in.

or of the composition, the welcome flatterer was immediately rewarded with the prefecture of Rome; a dignity which placed him among the illustrious personages of the empire, till he wisely preferred the more respectable character of a bishop and a saint.<sup>1</sup>

The Greeks ambitiously commend the piety and catholic faith of the emperor, whom they gave to the West; nor do they forget to observe, that when he left Constantinople, he converted his palace into the pious foundation of a public bath, a church, and an hospital for old men.<sup>2</sup> Yet some suspicious appearances are found to sully the theological fame of Anthemius. From the conversation of Philothenus, a Macedonian sectary, he had untubed the spirit of religious toleration; and the heretics of Rome would have assembled with impunity, if the bold and vehement censure which Pope Hilary pronounced in the church of St. Peter, had not obliged him to abjure the unpopular indulgence.<sup>3</sup> Even the pagans, a feeble and obscure remnant, conceived some vain hopes

<sup>1</sup> *Epiphanius* p. 1, *opus* 3, p. 23, 24 very early states his meeting, his labours, and his reward. "His ipse Praefectorem, et hoc indicium, "vere christianum, bene operis, accepit." He was made bishop of Caesarea, A.D. 411. *Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. 1. vol. 7, 788.*

<sup>2</sup> The palace of Anthemius stood on the banks of the Propontia. In the sixth century, Aetius, the associate of the emperor Theodorus, obtained permission to purchase the ground, and styled his seat in a monastery which he founded on that delightful spot. *Dionysius, Constantinopolis Christiana*, p. 117, 118.

<sup>3</sup> Pope Hilary : - "epist. Martinus Praefectum Apolloniam, postea et ad iterum etiam ad Constantinam, in ecclesia ut non ad hunc usque interpositionem pariterque item praesentem Innocentium. *Colonus* Epistol.

from the indifference, or partiality, of Anthemius; and his singular friendship for the philosopher Severus, whom he promoted to the consulship, was ascribed to a secret project of reviving the ancient worship of the gods.<sup>1</sup> These idols were crumbled into dust: and the mythology which had once been the creed of nations, was so universally disbelieved, that it might be employed without scandal, or at least without suspicion, by Christian poets.<sup>2</sup> Yet the vestiges of superstition were not absolutely obliterated, and the festival of the Lupercalia, whose origin had preceded the foundation of Rome, was still celebrated under the reign of Anthemius. The savage and simple rites were expressive of an early state of society before the invention of arts and agriculture. The rustic deities who presided over the toils and pleasures of the pastoral life, Pan, Faunus, and their train of satyrs, were such as the fancy of shepherds might create, sportive, petulant, and lascivious; whose power was limited, and whose malice was ineffective. A

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*(continued)*

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. ad Justinianum*, apud *Beza*, A. B. 457, p. 2. The original character, with many complaisance, that it was much easier to plant basilisks in Constantinople, than in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> *Themistius*, in the life of the philosopher Isidorus, apud *Photium*, p. 1042. Themistius, who lived under Justinian, composed various works, consisting of 377 prearranged series of words, *sermons*, *epigrams*, the dialogues of *Plato* &c. &c.

<sup>3</sup> In the poetical works of Valerius, which he afterwards commented, l. vi, epist. 10, p. 283, the following distich has the principal notice. It seems to be suggested by the image of only reading Virgil's *Eclogues* of Theocritus, for such a still repetition, derived as different clippings from the flocks.

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.....

goat was the offering the best adapted to their character and attributes: the flesh of the victim was roasted on willow spits: and the riotous youths, who crowded to the feast, ran naked about the fields, with leather thongs in their hands, communicating, as it was supposed, the blessing of fecundity to the women whom they touched.<sup>1</sup> The altar of Pan was erected, perhaps by Evander the Arcadian, in a dark recess in the side of the Palatine hill, watered by a perpetual fountain, and shaded by an hanging grove. A tradition, that, in the same place, Romulus and Remus were suckled by the wolf, rendered it still more sacred and venerable in the eyes of the Romans: and this sylvan spot was gradually surrounded by the stately edifices of the Forum.<sup>2</sup> After the conversion of the imperial city, the Christians still continued, in the month of February, the annual celebration of the Lupercalia: to which they ascribed a secret and mysterious influence on the genial powers of the animal and vegetable world. The bishops of Rome were solicitous to abolish a profane custom, so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity; but their zeal was not supported by the authority of the civil magistrate: the inveterate abuse subsi-

<sup>1</sup> Ovid (*Fast.* l. ii. 387-412) has given an interesting description of the festival of antiquity, which still inspired us with respect, that a great number of running naked through the streets, was not an object of astonishment or laughter.

<sup>2</sup> See Dureau, *Recherches* l. i. p. 55, 56, edit. Huetius. The Roman Antiquaries, *Declaratio* p. 6, c. 28, p. 117, 119, and *Secundus* p. 206, 207, have laboured to ascertain the true situation of the Lupercal.

lated till the end of the fifth century; and Pope Gelasius, who purified the capital from the last stain of idolatry, appeased, by a formal apology, the murmurs of the senate and people.\*

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In all his public declarations, the emperor Leo assumes the authority, and professes the affection, of a father, for his son Anthemius, with whom he had divided the administration of the universe.† The situation, and perhaps the character, of Leo, dissuaded him from exposing his person to the toils and dangers of an African war. But the powers of the eastern empire were strenuously exerted to deliver Italy and the Mediterranean from the Vandals; and Genseric, who had so long oppressed both the land and sea, was threatened from every side with a formidable invasion. The campaign was opened by a bold and successful enterprise of the perfect Heraclius.‡ The troops of Egypt, The-

Prepara-  
tions  
against the  
Vandals of  
Africa,  
A. D. 455.

\* Broussin published, from the MSS. of the Vatican, this speech of Pope Gelasius, (A. D. 495, N<sup>o</sup>. 24-45), which is written in a coarse Androsian script, barbarous, erroneous, and supererogatory, according to modern criticism, without consideration. Gieseler objects to suppose that the oratorian has personal friends; and that he may not yield to those his almost perpetual, as he seems to this historian looked, all the inducements of the age.

† Hæpse has chosen to give, instead, *regnum omnium expressè præstat*, &c. &c. Part of it is completely copied; Augustus filius meus Anthemius, levi Divina Majestas et nostra gratia patris ejus plenus Imperii cunctis omnibus populis, &c. &c. Such is the dignified style of Leo, when addressing respectfully names, Duximus et Patre meo Philippo venerabilis Leo. See *Beval. Antiqu. tit. 26. 31.* p. 28, of edition Cui. Thes.

‡ The expedition of Heraclius is clouded with difficulties, (Hilander, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi, p. 247), and it requires some delicacy to see the circumstances afforded by Theophrastus, without injury to the very respectable evidence of Prætorius.

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[REMARKS]

bais, and Libya, were embarked under his command; and the Arabs, with a train of horses and camels, opened the roads of the desert. Heraclius landed on the coast of Tripoli, surprised and subdued the cities of that province, and prepared, by a laborious march, which Cato had formerly executed,<sup>a</sup> to join the imperial army under the walls of Carthage. The intelligence of this loss extorted from Genseric some insidious and ineffectual propositions of peace: but he was still more seriously alarmed by the reconciliation of Marcellinus with the two empires. The independent patrician had been persuaded to acknowledge the legitimate title of Anthemius, whom he accompanied in his journey to Rome: the Dalmatian fleet was received into the harbours of Italy; the active valour of Marcellinus expelled the Vandals from the island of Sardinia; and the languid efforts of the West added some weight to the immense preparations of the eastern Romans. The expence of the naval armament which Leo sent against the Vandals, has been distinctly ascertained; and the curious and instructive account displays the wealth of the declining empire. The royal demesnes, or private patrimony of the prince, supplied seventeen thousand pounds of

<sup>a</sup> The march of Cato from Berytus, in the province of Syria, was much longer than that of Heraclius from Tripoli. He passed the deep sandy desert 25 thirty days, and it was found necessary to provide, besides the ordinary supplies, a great number of skins filled with water, and several Pythi, who were supposed to possess the art of seeking the sources which had been made by the steps of their native country. See Ptolemy in Caes. Vindob. tom. iv. p. 274. *Parthen. Geograph. l. viii. p. 1183.*

CHAP.  
XXXV.  
THE AFRICAN WAR.

gold; forty-seven thousand pounds of gold, and seven hundred thousand of silver, were levied and paid into the treasury by the preterian prefects. But the cities were reduced to extreme poverty; and the diligent calculation of fines and forfeitures, as a valuable object of the revenue, does not suggest the idea of a just, or merciful administration. The whole expense, by whatsoever means it was defrayed, of the African campaign, amounted to the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of gold, about five millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling, at a time when the value of money appears, from the comparative price of corn, to have been somewhat higher than in the present age.\* The fleet that sailed from Constantinople to Carthage, consisted of eleven hundred and thirteen ships, and the number of soldiers and mariners exceeded one hundred thousand men. Basiliscus, the brother of the empress Verina, was intrusted with this important command. His sister, the wife of Leo, had exaggerated the merit of his former exploits against the Scythians. But the discovery of his guilt, or incapacity, was reserved for the African war; and his friends could only save his military reputation, by asserting, that he had conspired with Aspar to

\* The principal sum is clearly expressed by Procopius (de Bell. Vand. l. i. c. 8, p. 191.) the smaller contributions given which Filippus (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 126.) has liberally collected from the Byzantine writers, are less certain, and less important. The historian Mathieu denotes the public money, (Chronogr. ex. Suite de Carp. Hist. Byzant. p. 181.) but he is nearly unjust, when he charges Leo with burdening the treasury which he extracted from the people.

THAT spare Genesius, and to betray the last hope of the western empire.

XXVII.  
conclusion  
Failure of  
the expedi-  
tion.

Experience has shown, that the success of an invader most commonly depends on the vigour and celerity of his operations. The strength and sharpness of the first impression are blunted by delay; the health and spirit of the troops insensibly languish in a distant climate; the naval and military force, a mighty effort which perhaps can never be repeated, is silently consumed; and every hour that is wasted in negotiation, accustoms the enemy to contemplate and examine those hostile terrors, which, on their first appearance, he deemed irresistible. The formidable navy of Basiliscus pursued its prosperous navigation from the Thracian Bosphorus to the coast of Africa. He landed his troops at Cape Bona, or the promontory of Mercury, about forty miles from Carthage. The army of Heraclius, and the fleet of Marcellinus, either joined or seconded the imperial lieutenant; and the Vandals, who opposed his progress by sea or land, were successively vanquished. If Basiliscus had seized the moment of consternation, and boldly advanced to the capital, Carthage must have surrendered, and the

\* This promontory is forty miles from Carthage, *Itinerary* l. i. c. 6. p. 102; and twenty leagues from Sicily, *Strabo's Geograph.* p. 46. Scipio landed farther to the west, at the bay promontory; and the following description of Lily, *l. i. c. 25, 27.*

† Theophanes p. 106 affirms that many ships of the Vandals were with him. The insertion of Jerusalem, the *Itinerary* says, is, that Basiliscus attacked Carthage, does not contradict in a very great kind sense.

Kingdom of the Vandals was extinguished. Genseric beheld the danger with firmness, and eluded it with his veteran dexterity. He protested, in the most respectful language, that he was ready to submit his person, and his dominions, to the will of the emperor; but he requested a truce of five days to regulate the terms of his submission; and it was universally believed, that his secret liberality contributed to the success of this public negotiation. Instead of obstinately refusing whatever indulgence his enemy so earnestly solicited, the guilty, or the credulous, Basiliscus consented to the fatal truce; and his imprudent security seemed to proclaim, that he already considered himself as the conqueror of Africa. During this short interval, the wind became favourable to the designs of Genseric. He manned his largest ships of war with the bravest of the Moors and Vandals; and they towed after them many large barks, filled with combustible materials. In the obscurity of the night, these destructive vessels were impelled against the unguarded and unsuspecting fleet of the Romans, who were awakened by the sense of their instant danger. Their close and crowded order hastened the progress of the fire, which was communicated with rapid and irresistible violence; and the noise of the wind, the crackling of the flames, the dissonant cries of the soldiers and mariners, who could neither command, nor obey, increased the horror of the nocturnal tumult. Whilst they laboured to extricate themselves from the fire-ships, and to save at least a part of the

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navy, the galleys of Genseric assaulted them with temperate and disciplined valour; and many of the Romans, who escaped the fury of the flames, were destroyed or taken by the victorious Vandals. Among the events of that disastrous night, the heroic, or rather desperate, courage of John, one of the principal officers of Basiliscus, has rescued his name from oblivion. When the ship, which he had bravely defended, was almost consumed, he threw himself in his armour into the sea, disdainfully rejected the offers and pity of Genseric, the son of Genseric, who pressed him to accept honourable quarter, and sunk under the waves; exclaiming, with his last breath, that he would never fall alive into the hands of those impious dogs. Actuated by a far different spirit, Basiliscus, whose station was the most remote from danger, disgracefully fled in the beginning of the engagement, returned to Constantinople with the loss of more than half of his fleet and army, and sheltered his guilty head in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, till his sister, by her tears and entreaties, could obtain his pardon from the indignant emperor. Heraclius effected his retreat through the desert; Marcellinus retired to Sicily, where he was imprisoned, perhaps at the instigation of Ricimer, by one of his own captains; and the king of the Vandals expressed his surprise and satisfaction, that the Romans themselves should remove from the world his most formidable antagonists.\* After the

\* Desmetius in Vit. Justin. apud Phot. p. 1048. It will appear, by comparing the three short narratives of the event, that Marcellinus had fought near Carthage, and was killed in Sicily.

failure of this great expedition, Genseric again became the tyrant of the sea: the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia, were again exposed to his revenge and avarice: Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the number of his provinces; and, before he died, in the ful-  
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 ness of years and of glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the West.\*

During his long and active reign, the African monarch had studiously cultivated the friendship of the barbarians of Europe, whose arms he might employ in a seasonable and effectual diversion against the two empires. After the death of Attila, he renewed his alliance with the Visigoths of Gaul; and the sons of the elder Theoderic, who successively reigned over that warlike nation, were easily persuaded, by the sense of interest, to forget the cruel affront which Genseric had inflicted on their sister.<sup>†</sup> The death of the emperor Majorian delivered Theoderic II from the restraint of fear, and perhaps of honour; he violated his recent treaty with the Romans; and the ample territory of Narbonne, which he firmly united to

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continued

Conquests  
of the Vi-  
sigoths in  
Spain and  
Gaul.  
A. D. 462-  
477.

\* For the African war, see Procopius, *ed. Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 8, p. 160, 161, 162; Theophrastus, *op. cit.* 96, 100, 203; Cassiodorus, *op. cit.* 226, 227; and Zosimus, *op. cit.* 2. l. 5. c. 41, p. 36, 37. Hieronymus (Constantinople, *ed. de Gouda*, An. d. 22, tom. 18, p. 387) has made a judicious observation on the failure of that great naval expedition.

† *Leprosus* is not lost made through the reign of Theoderic II, and Felix, see *Notus Gothicus*, A. 44, 45, 46, 47, p. 212-257. *Idem* is not lost, and *Yodius* is not sparing of the information, which he might have given on the affairs of Spain. The events that relate to that interesting conquest, in the third book of the *Atti* of the *Notus Gothicus*, tom. 3, p. 471-479.

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his dominions; became the immediate reward of his perfidy. The selfish policy of Riciimer encouraged him to invade the provinces which were in the possession of *Agidius*, his rival; but the active count, by the defence of Arles, and the victory of Orleans, saved Gaul, and checked, during his lifetime, the progress of the Visigoths. Their ambition was soon rekindled; and the design of extinguishing the Roman empire in Spain and Gaul, was conceived, and almost completed, in the reign of *Euric*, who assassinated his brother *Theodoric*, and displayed, with a more savage temper, superior abilities, both in peace and war. He passed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous army, subdued the cities of Saragossa and Pampebaun, vanquished in battle the martial nobles of the Tarragonese province, carried his victorious arms into the heart of Lusitania, and permitted the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Galicia under the Gothic monarchy of Spain.\* The efforts of *Euric* were not less vigorous, or less successful, in Gaul; and throughout the country that extends from the Pyrenees to the Rhone and the Loire, Berry, and Auvergne, were the only cities, or dioceses, which refused to acknowledge him as their master.† In the defence of Clermont, their principal town, the inhabitants of Auvergne sustained, with inflexible resolution, the miseries of

\* See *Maximus, Trans. Hispan.* tom. 4, l. 1, c. 1, p. 161.

† An imperfect, but original, picture of Gaul, made especially of Auvergne, is shown by *Strabo*; who, as a geographer, and otherwise as a historian, was deeply interested in the fate of this country. See L. 4, *geogr.* 1, 2, 3, 4.

war, pestilence, and famine; and the Visigoths, relinquishing the fruitless siege, suspended the hopes of that important conquest. The youth of the province were animated by the heroic, and almost incredible, valour of Basilius, the son of the emperor Avitus,\* who made a desperate sally with only eighteen horsemen, boldly attacked the Gothic army, and, after maintaining a flying skirmish, retired safe and victorious within the walls of Clermont. His charity was equal to his courage: in a time of extreme scarcity, four thousand poor were fed at his expence; and his private influence levied an army of Burgundians for the deliverance of Auvergne. From his virtues alone the faithful citizens of Gaul derived any hopes of safety or freedom; and even such victories were insufficient to avert the impending ruin of their country, since they were anxious to learn from his authority and example, whether they should prefer the alternative of exile, or servitude. The public confidence was lost; the resources of the state were exhausted; and the Gauls had too much reason to believe, that Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, was incapable of protecting his distressed subjects beyond the Alps. The feeble emperor could only procure for their defence the service of

\* Anthimus, l. vi. epist. 3. p. 8248. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 84. in tom. 2. p. 114. Nicomachus, p. 84. p. 874. Perhaps Basilius was long the successor of Avitus, his wife's son by a second husband.

\* It is rather a singular story, with regard to Basilius, a young man, a Roman prince, who, he is said, he married, and had several children, l. ii. epist. 3. p. 824. The first words (Greg. Turon. l. ii. p. 824) may likewise denote the political union, which was indeed the union of Basilius himself.

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twelve thousand British auxiliaries. Risthannus, one of the independent kings, or chieftains, of the island, was persuaded to transport his troops to the continent of Gaul; he sailed up the Loire, and established his quarters in Berry, where the people complained of these oppressive allies, till they were destroyed, or dispersed, by the arms of the Visigoths.<sup>4</sup>

Trial of  
Arvandus,  
A. D. 462.

One of the last acts of jurisdiction, which the Roman senate exercised over their subjects of Gaul, was the trial and condemnation of Arvandus, the pretorian prefect. Sidonius, who rejoices that he lived under a reign in which he might pity and assist a state-criminal, has expressed, with tenderness and freedom, the faults of his indiscreet and unfortunate friend.<sup>5</sup> From the perils, which he had escaped, Arvandus imbibed confidence rather than wisdom; and such was the various, though uniform, imprudence of his behaviour, that his prosperity must appear much more surprising than his downfall. The second prefecture, which he obtained within the term of five years, abolished the merit and popularity of his preceding administration. His easy

<sup>4</sup> The history of these Britons may be found in *Jornandus*, c. 41, p. 478; *Sidonius*, l. 10, quoted, p. 72, 74; and *Gregory of Tours*, l. 10, c. 18; *id. ibid.* l. 9, p. 170. Sidonius (who styles these auxiliary troops *epulos, salutaris, fructuosus, simplex, paucus, militarius*), constantly addresses them present in a tone of familiarity and familiarity.

<sup>5</sup> See *Sidonius*, l. 10, quoted, p. 440, with *Gregory's* notes. The letter does honour to his heart, as well as to his understanding. The prose of Sidonius, however tainted by a false and artificial taste, is much superior to his poetical verses.

Imper was corrupted by flattery, and exasperated by opposition; he was forced to satisfy his importunate creditors with the spoils of the province; his capricious insolence offended the nobles of Gaul, and he sunk under the weight of the public hatred. The mandate of his disgrace summoned him to justify his conduct before the senate; and he passed the sea of Tuscany with a favourable wind, the passage, as he vainly imagined, of his future fortunes. A decent respect was still observed for the *prefectorian* rank; and on his arrival at Rome, Arvandus was committed to the hospitality, rather than to the custody, of Flavius Aeslius, the count of the sacred largesses, who resided in the Capitol.\* He was eagerly pursued by his accusers, the four deputies of Gaul, who were all distinguished by their birth, their dignities, or their eloquence. In the name of a great province, and according to the forms of Roman jurisprudence, they instituted a civil and criminal action, requiring such a restitution as might compensate the losses of individuals, and such punishment as might satisfy the justice of the state. Their charges of corrupt oppression were numerous and weighty; but they placed their secret dependence on a letter, which they had intercepted, and which they could prove, by the evidence of his secretary, to have been dis-

\* When the Capitol could no longer be a temple, it was appropriated to the use of theatrical representations and it is still the residence of the Roman senate. The prefects did not then have the power to execute their private wills in the person.

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tated by Arvandus himself. The author of this letter seemed to dissuade the king of the Goths from a peace with the *Greek* emperor: he suggested the attack of the Britons on the Loire: and he recommended a division of Gaul, according to the law of nations, between the Visigoths and the Burgundians.<sup>a</sup> These pernicious schemes, which a friend could only palliate by the reproaches of vanity and indiscretion, were susceptible of a reasonable interpretation: and the deputies had artfully resolved, not to produce these most formidable weapons till the decisive moment of the contest. But their intentions were discovered by the zeal of Sidonius. He immediately apprized the unsuspecting criminal of his danger: and sincerely lamented, without any mixture of anger, the haughty presumption of Arvandus, who rejected, and even resented, the salutary advice of his friends. Ignorant of his real situation, Arvandus shewed himself in the Capitol in the white robe of a candidate, accepted indiscriminate salutations and offers of service, examined the shops of the merchants, the silks and gems, sometimes with the indifference of a spectator, and sometimes with the attention of a purchaser: and complained of the times, of the senate, of the prince, and of the delays of justice. His complaints were soon

<sup>a</sup> That of *reges Gothorum, clares habitans mores, pacem cum Greco Imperatore Amatore, Britanni inde Equisitibus longipollis oppidum dimoverunt, cum Burgundiones jam Germani, Cuius Rex Brudi ditione subditus.*

removed. An early day was fixed for his trial; and Arvandus appeared, with his armours, before a numerous assembly of the Roman senate. The mournful gaze which they affected, excited the compassion of the judges, who were scandalized by the gay and splendid dress of their adversary; and when the prefect Arvandus, with the first of the Gallic delegation, were directed to take their places on the senatorial benches, the same contrast of pride and modesty was observed in their behaviour. In this memorable judgment, which presented a lively image of the old republic, the Gauls exposed, with force and freedom, the grievances of the province; and as soon as the minds of the audience were sufficiently inflamed, they recited the fatal epistle. The obstinacy of Arvandus was founded on the strange supposition, that a subject could not be convicted of treason, unless he had actually conspired to assault the people. As the paper was read, he repented, and with a loud voice, acknowledged it for his genuine composition; and his acknowledgment was equal to his dismay, when the unanimous voice of the senate declared him guilty of a capital offence. By their decree, he was degraded from the rank of a prefect to the obscure condition of a plebeian, and ignominiously dragged by servile hands to the public prison. After a fortnight's imprisonment, the senate was again convened to pronounce the sentence of his death: but while he expected, in the island of Esculapius, the ex-

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pitiation of the thirty days allowed by an ancient law to the vilest malefactors,<sup>1</sup> his friends interposed, the emperor Anthemius relented, and the prefect of Gaul obtained the milder punishment of exile and confiscation. The faults of Armandus might deserve compassion; but the impetuosity of Scronatus accused the justice of the republic, till he was condemned, and executed, on the complaint of the people of Arvergne. That flagitious minister, the Catiline of his age and country, held a secret correspondence with the Visigoths, to betray the province which he oppressed; his industry was continually exercised in the discovery of new taxes and obsolete offences; and his extravagant vices would have inspired contempt, if they had not excited fear and abhorrence.<sup>2</sup>

Diocletian at  
Constantinople  
and Maximian  
at Milan.  
A. D.  
311.

Such criminals were not beyond the reach of justice; but whatever might be the guilt of Ricimer, that powerful barbarian was able to contend or to negotiate with the prince, whose alliance he had condescended to accept. The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the West, was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer, apprehensive, or impatient, of a superior, retired from Rome,

<sup>1</sup> *Exactionemque* Theodoretus, *Quæstion.* Nat. p. 171: but that law allowed only ten days between the sentence and execution; the remaining twenty were added in the reign of Theodosius.

<sup>2</sup> *Caesaris* small notice. *Idem*, l. ii. epist. 7, p. 70; l. v. epist. 12, p. 142; l. vi. epist. 7, p. 185. He accuses the senate, and applies the punishment, of *homicidium*, perhaps with the implication of a *supplicium* (murder), perhaps with the constraint of a personal enemy.

and fixed his residence at Milan: an advantageous situation, either to invite, or to repel, the warlike tribes that were seated between the Alps and the Danube.\* Italy was gradually divided into two independent and hostile kingdoms; and the nobles of Liguria, who trembled at the near approach of a civil war, fell prostrate at the feet of the patrician, and conjured him to spare their unhappy country. "For my own part," replied Ricimer, in a tone of insistent moderation, "I am still inclined to embrace the friendship of the Galatians; but who will undertake to appease his anger, or to mitigate the pride, which always rises in proportion to our mission?" They informed him, that Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, united the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; and appeared confident, that the eloquence of such an ambassador must prevail against the strongest opposition, either of interest or passion. Their

\* Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemius, debated and slain in battle Dengiz, king of the Alani, (Jordanes, v. 45, p. 479). His army had defeated the king of the Burgundians; and he maintained an amicable commerce with the Avars, who established in Pannonia and Noricum.

<sup>1</sup> *Quædam res notata.* Ricimer let his name to Epiphanius apply for appointment as Anthemius himself. The bishop was probably born in the province of Liguria, where his father, the Gallio-ducens, was supposed to hold the rank of a senator, and a distinguished people.

\* Epiphanius was thirty years bishop of Pavia, (A. D. 457-487; see Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. vii, p. 286). His name had certainly been long known to posterity, if Eusebius, one of his countrymen, had not written his only churchman, *Apolog.* tom. i, p. 161. *Epiphanius* is where he represents him as one of the greatest characters of the age.

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recommendation was approved: and Epiphanius, assuming the benevolent office of mediation, proceeded without delay to Rome, where he was received with the honours due to his merit and reputation. The oration of a bishop in favour of peace, may be easily supposed; he argued, that in all possible circumstances, the forgiveness of injuries must be an act of mercy, or magnanimity, or prudence; and he seriously admonished the emperor to avoid a contest with a fierce barbarian, which might be fatal to himself, and must be ruinous to his dominions. Anthemius acknowledged the truth of his maxims; but he deeply felt, with grief and indignation, the behaviour of Ricimer; and his passion gave eloquence and energy to his discourse. — “What favours,” he warmly exclaimed, “have we refused to this ungrateful man? What provocations have we not endured? Regardless of the majesty of the purple, I gave my daughter to a Goth; I sacrificed my own blood to the safety of the republic. The liberality which might have secured the eternal attachment of Ricimer has exasperated him against his benefactor. What wars has he not excited against the empire? How often has he outraged, and assuaged the fury of hostile nations? Shall I now accept his perfidious friendship? Can I hope that he will respect the engagements of a treaty, who has already violated the duties of a son?” But the anger of Anthemius evaporated in these passionate exclamations; he insensibly yielded to the proposals of Epipha-

nists; and the bishop returned to his diocese with the satisfaction of restoring the peace of Italy, by a reconciliation,\* of which the sincerity and continuance might be reasonably suspected. The clemency of the emperor was extorted from his weakness: and Ricimer suspended his ambitious designs, till he had secretly prepared the engines with which he resolved to subvert the throne of Anthemius. The mask of peace and moderation was then thrown aside. The army of Ricimer was fortified by a numerous reinforcement of Burgundians and oriental Sævi: he disclaimed all allegiance to the Greek emperor, marched from Milan to the gates of Rome; and fixing his camp on the banks of the Anio, impatiently expected the arrival of Olybrius, his imperial candidate.

The senator Olybrius, of the Aneian family, might esteem himself the lawful heir of the western empire. He had married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian, after she was restored by Gemicus; who still detained her sister Eudoxia, as the wife, or rather as the captive, of his son. The king of the Vandals supported, by threats and solicitations, the fair pretensions of his Roman ally: and assigned, as one of the motives of the war, the refusal of the senate and people to acknowledge their lawful prince, and the unworthy preference which they had given to

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Olybrius  
emperor of  
the West.  
A. D. 477.  
March 21

\* *Remondet* (p. 1618-1621) has related this recovery of Euphrasius; but his narrative, verbose and inelegant in both style and sense, seems almost altogether foreign to the fall of the western empire.

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 .....  
 a stranger.\* The friendship of the public enemy might render Olybrius still more unpopular to the Italians; but when Ricimer mediated the ruin of the emperor Anthemius, he tempted, with the offer of a diadem, the candidate who could justify his rebellion by an illustrious name, and a royal alliance. The husband of Placidia, who, like most of his ancestors, had been invested with the consular dignity, might have continued to enjoy a secure and splendid fortune in the peaceful residence of Constantinople; nor does he appear to have been tormented by such a genius, as cannot be amused or occupied, unless by the administration of an empire. Yet Olybrius yielded to the importunities of his friends, perhaps of his wife; rashly plunged into the dangers and calamities of a civil war; and with the secret connivance of the emperor Leo, accepted the Italian purple, which was bestowed, and resumed, at the capricious will of a barbarian. He landed without obstacle (for Genseric was master of the sea) either at Ravenna or the port of Ostia, and immediately proceeded to the camp of Ricimer, where he was received as the sovereign of the western world.

\* *Prætorio Constantini Imperatoris*, p. 14. *Procopius de Bell. Vandalis*, l. 1, c. 8, p. 171. Placidia and her daughter were captured after the death of Maximus. Perhaps the marriage of Olybrius (A. D. 473) was arranged as a royal present.

\* The hostile appearance of Olybrius is fixed notwithstanding the opinion of Pagi by the date of his reign. The secret connivance of Leo is acknowledged by Theophrastus, and the *Prætorial Chamberlain*. We are ignorant of his motives; but in this station private and ignominious attacks on the most public and important facts.

The patrician, who had extended his posts from the Anio to the Milvian bridge, already possessed two quarters of Rome, the Vatican and the Janiculum, which are separated by the Tiber from the rest of the city;\* and it may be conjectured, that an assembly of seceding senators imitated, in the choice of Olybrius, the forms of a legal election. But the body of the senate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Anthemius; and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the public distress, by a resistance of three months, which produced the concomitant evils of famine and pestilence. At length, Ricimer made a furious assault on the bridge of Hadrian, or St. Angelo; and the narrow pass was defended with equal valour by the Goths, till the death of Gillimer their leader. The victorious troops, breaking down every barrier, rushed with irresistible violence into the heart of the city, and Rome (if we may use the language of a contemporary pope) was subverted by the civil fury of Anthemius and Ricimer. The unfortunate An-

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End of  
Rome, and  
death of  
Anthemius.  
A. D. 472.  
July 11.

\* All the eastern regions, or provinces, into which Rome was divided by Augustus, only six, viz. the Janiculum, lay in the Tiberine side of the Tiber. But, in the fifth century, the Vatican island formed a considerable city; and in the establishment of the empire, which had been recently made by Romulus, the emperor placed two of the seven regions, or quarters, of Rome, depending on the church of St. Peter. See *Maximal Roma Antica*, p. 82. It would require a tedious dissertation to trace the dissimulations, by which it was induced to desert from the topography of that sacred Rome.

\* *Notae Authenticæ ad Maximam 1270* (Paris) volume 160. Gallus in Epist. ad Anthemium, apud Baro. A. D. 472. N. 42. See

CHAP. XXXVI. **THEODORIUS WAS DRAGGED FROM HIS CONFINEMENT, AND INHUMANLY MURDERED BY THE COMMAND OF HIS SON-IN-LAW; WHO THEN ADDED A THIRD, OR PERHAPS A FOURTH EMPEROR TO THE NUMBER OF HIS VICTIMS. THE SOLDIERS, WHO UNITED THE RAGE OF FACCIOUS CITIZENS WITH THE SAVAGE MANNERS OF BARBARIANS, WERE INDULGED, WITHOUT CONTROL, IN THE LICENSE OF RAPIN AND MURDER: THE CROWD OF SLAVES AND PLEBEIANS, WHO WERE UNCONCERNED IN THE EVENT, COULD ONLY GAIN BY THE INDISCRIMINATE PILLAGE; AND THE FACE OF THE CITY EXHIBITED THE STRANGE CONTRAST OF SPURNED CROELTY, AND DISSOLUTE INTemperance.** Forty days after this calamitous event, the subject, not of glory, but of guilt, Italy was delivered, by a painful disease, from the tyrant Ricimer, who bequeathed the command of his army to his nephew Gundobald, one of the princes of the Burgundians. In the same year, all the principal actors in this great revolution, were removed from the stage: and the whole reign of Olybrius, whose death does not betray any symptoms of violence, is included within the term of seven months. He left one daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Placidia; and the family of the great Theodosius transplanted from

death of  
Ricimer,  
Aug. 25.

and of  
Olybrius,  
Oct. 22.

gibbon, *rome*, l. i. c. 28, de *theodosio imperatore* p. 446. 28. c. 28. and *Maximian*, (*Augustus d'italie*, tom. iv. p. 306. 307, with the aid of a new manuscript MS. of the *Historia Maximiana*, have changed this story and bloody transaction.

Though had been the story of *theodosius* who was killed, who was killed and murdered by the troops of *theodosius*. (see *Tacitus*, *hist.* c. 22, 23.) and with some of *theodosius* had been replaced with additional story. The appearance of *theodosius* was being read the same situation; but again once resolved, without producing a *theodosius* to *theodosius* story.

Spain to Constantinople, was propagated in the female line as far as the eighth generation! —

EPAR.  
XXXI

Whilst the infant throne of Italy was abandoned to lawless barbarians,\* the election of a new colleague was seriously agitated in the court of Leo. The empress Verina, anxious to promote the greatness of her own family, had married one of her sisters to Julius Nepos, who succeeded his uncle Marcellinus in the sovereignty of Dalmatia, a more solid possession than the title which he was persuaded to accept, of Emperor of the West. But the measures of the Byzantine court were so languid and irregular, that many months elapsed after the death of Anthemius, and even of Olybrius, before their destined successor could shew himself, with a respectable force, to his Italian subjects. During that interval, Glycerius, an obscure soldier, was invested with the purple by his patron Gundobald; but the Burgundian prince was unable, or unwilling, to support his nomination by a civil war: the pursuits of domestic ambition recalled him beyond the Alps,† and his client was per-

Julius Nepos and Olybrius, Emperors of the West, A. D. 472-475.

\* See Orosius, *Historia* vi. c. 14, 15. Aetadius, who appears to have assumed the name of the emperor Marcellus, was the eighth descendant of the sister Valentiniana.

† The last occurrences of this internal struggle are found in Theophrastus, *Ep. hist.* 2. *Agathangelus*, c. 45, p. 177; and *Chronographus Maximianus*, and the fragments of an anonymous writer, published by Vossius in the end of *Armeniacus*, p. 176, 177. If Phocas had not been so unwelcome a rival, he would have been much better qualified than the insubordinate soldiers of Malthace and Cordulas. See *Agathangelus*, p. 118-119.

\* See Oros. *Tristitia* 4. c. 16. *Ep. hist.* vi. p. 174. *Agath.* 118. *Chronogr.* *Agath.* 1. p. 172. By the neglect, or death, of his two sons Olybrius, Gundobald acquired the sovereignty of the Burgundian kingdom, which Julius was hastened by their murder.

THAT XXXVI. wanted to exchange the Roman sceptre for the  
 bishopric of Salona. After extinguishing such a  
 competition, the emperor Nepos was acknow-  
 ledged by the senate, by the Italians, and by  
 the provincials of Gaul; his moral virtues, and  
 military talents, were loudly celebrated; and  
 those who derived any private benefit from his  
 government, announced in prophetic strains,  
 the restoration of the public felicity.\* Their  
 hopes (if such hopes had been entertained) were  
 confounded within the term of a single year: and  
 the treaty of peace, which ceded Auvergne to  
 the Visigoths, is the only event of his short and  
 inglorious reign. The most faithful subjects of  
 Gaul were sacrificed by the Italian emperor, to  
 the hope of domestic security;† but his repose  
 was soon invaded by a furious rebellion of the  
 barbarian confederates, who, under the com-  
 mand of Orestes, their general, were in full  
 march from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos trembled  
 at their approach; and instead of placing a just  
 confidence in the strength of Ravenna, he hastily  
 escaped to his ships, and retired to his Dalmat-  
 ian principality, on the opposite coast of the  
 Adriatic. By this shameful abdication, he  
 protracted his life about five years, in a very

\* Julius Nepos *amicus patris, amicus Agrippæ ac consulis*. (Suetonius, l. i, cap. 10, p. 108.) Nepos had given to Epiphanius the title of *patriarcha*, which Ambrosius had previously bestowed on Ambrose. (Suetonius, l. i, cap. 10, p. 108.)

† Epiphanius was sent ambassador from Nepos to the Visigoths, for the purpose of averting the *flux Imperii Italici*, threatened in Ravenna. (Suetonius, l. i, p. 108.) Nepos's ambition was the principal cause, which soon excited the just and bitter con-  
 tempts of the bishop of Clermont.

ambitious state, between an emperor and an exile, till he was dismounted at Salona by the ungrateful Glycerius, who was translated, perhaps as the reward of his crime, to the archbishopric of Milan.\*

The nations who had asserted their independence after the death of Attila, were established, by the right of possession or conquest, in the boundless countries to the north of the Danube; or in the Roman provinces between the river and the Alps. But the bravest of their youth enlisted in the army of *confederates*, who formed the defence and the terror of Italy;† and in this promiscuous multitude, the names of the Heruli, the Sœyri, the Alani, the Turcilingi, and the Rugians, appear to have predominated. The example of these warriors was imitated by Orestes, the son of Tatullus, and the father of the last Roman emperor of the West. Orestes, who has been already mentioned in this history, had never deserted his country. His birth and fortunes rendered him one of the most illustrious subjects in

CONST.  
ECCLES.  
PROLOGUS

The histo-  
riant Ores-  
tes,  
A. D. 474.

\* Marshall, *opud* Pict. s. 112. *Sancti Episcopi, Glycerii, et Symonis Open*, vol. 1, p. 140B. Some doubts may however be raised on the identity of the emperor and the archbishop.

† Our knowledge of these invasions, and whatever the number appears to be, is derived from Ptolemy, *de Bell. libellus*, 3, c. 11, p. 200B. The popular opinion and the ancient historians, represent Orestes in the false light of a stranger, and a king, who invaded Italy with an army of Barbarians, his native subjects.

‡ *Quintus, qui se verum quendam Arria ad Italiam venit, ad illam pervenit et cum Arria et filio suo*. *Ammonius*, *Valer* p. 118. He is mistaken in the name; but we may credit his opinion, that the ancestry of Arria was the father of Augustus.

THAT Pannonia. When that province was ceded to the  
 XXXVI. Romans, he entered into the service of Attila, his  
 lawless sovereign, obtained the office of his secre-  
 tary, and was repeatedly sent ambassador to Con-  
 stantinople, to represent the person, and signify  
 the commands, of the imperious monarch. The  
 death of that conqueror restored him to his free-  
 dom; and Orestes might honourably refuse either  
 to follow the sons of Attila, into the Scythian de-  
 sert, or to stay the Ostrogoths, who had usurped  
 the dominion of Pannonia. He preferred the  
 service of the Italian princes, the successors of  
 Valentinian; and, as he possessed the qualifications  
 of courage, industry, and experience, he advanced  
 with rapid steps in the military profession, till he  
 was elevated, by the favour of Nepos himself, to  
 the dignity of patrician, and master-general of  
 the troops. These troops had been long accus-  
 tomed to reverence the character and authority of  
 Orestes, who affected their manners, conversed  
 with them in their own language, and was inti-  
 mately connected with their national chiefs, by  
 long habits of familiarity and friendship. At  
 his solicitation they rose to arms against the  
 obscure Geyck, who presumed to claim their  
 obedience; and when Orestes, from some secret  
 motive, declined the purple, they consented, with  
 the same facility, to acknowledge his son Au-  
 gustulus, as the emperor of the West. By the  
 abdication of Nepos, Orestes had now attained the  
 summit of his ambitious hopes; but he soon dis-  
 covered, before the end of the first year, that the  
 lessons of perfidy and ingratitude, which a rebel

His son  
 Augustu-  
 lus, the last  
 emperor of  
 the West,  
 A. D. 476.

must incidentally will be retorted against himself; and that the pretended sovereignty of Italy was only permitted to choose, whether he would be the slave, or the victim, of his barbarian mercenaries. The dangerous alliance of these strangers had oppressed and insulted the last remains of Roman freedom and dignity. At each revolution, their pay and privileges were augmented; but their insolence increased in a still more extravagant degree; they envied the fortune of their brethren in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, whose victorious arms had acquired an independent and perpetual inheritance; and they insisted on their presumptuous demand, that a *third* part of the lands of Italy should be immediately divided among them. Orestes, with a spirit which, in another situation, might be entitled to our esteem, chose rather to encounter the rage of an armed multitude, than to subscribe the ruin of an innocent people. He rejected the audacious demand; and his refusal was favourable to the ambition of Odoacer: a bold barbarian, who exhorted his fellow soldiers, that, if they dared to associate under his command, they might soon extort the justice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garrisons of Italy, the confederates, actuated by the same resentment and the same hopes, impatiently looked to the standard of this popular leader; and the unfortunate patrician, overwhelmed by the torrent, hastily retreated to the strong city of Pavia, the episcopal seat of the holy Epiphonites. Pavia was immediately be-

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virged, the fortifications were stormed, the town was pillaged; and although the bishop might labour with much zeal and some success, to save the property of the church, and the chastity of female captives, the tumult could only be appeased by the execution of Orestes.<sup>2</sup> His brother Paul was slain in an action near Ravenna; and the helpless Augustulus, who could no longer command the respect, was reduced to implore the clemency, of Odovacer.

Odovacer,  
king of  
Italy,  
A. D. 476.  
480.

That successful barbarism was the son of Edemon; who, in some remarkable transactions, particularly described in a preceding chapter, had been the colleague of Orestes himself. The honour of an ambassador should be exempt from suspicion; and Edemon had listened to a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign. But this apparent guilt was expiated by his merit or repentance: his rank was eminent and conspicuous; he enjoyed the favour of Attila; and the troops under his command, who guarded, in their turn, the royal village, consisted in a tribe of Scyrri, his immediate and hereditary subjects. In the revolt of the nations, they still adhered to the Huns; and, more than twelve years afterwards, the name of Edemon is honourably mentioned, in their unequal contest with the Ostrogoths; which was terminated, after two bloody battles, by the defeat and

<sup>2</sup> See *Procopius*, *de V. G. Goth.*, lib. 1. c. 10. 11. 12. He adds weight to the narrative of *Procopius*, though we may doubt whether the deed himself, *perpetrated* the rage of *Procopius*, in writing the history and the book.

dispersion of the Scyri.\* Their gallant leader, who did not survive this national calamity, left two sons, Omiſſ and Odoacer, to struggle with adversity, and to maintain as they might, by rapine or service, the faithful followers of their exile. Omiſſ directed his steps towards Conſtantinople, where he ſuffered, by the aſſaſſination of a generous benefactor, the ſame which he had acquired in arms. His brother Odoacer led a wandering life among the barbarians of Noricum, with a mind and a fortune ſuited to the moſt deſperate adventures; and when he had fixed his choice, he piously viſited the cell of Severinus, the popular ſaint of the country, to ſolicit his approbation and bleſſing. The lowneſs of the door would not admit the lofty ſtature of Odoacer: he was obliged to ſtoop; but in that humble attitude the ſaint could diſcern the ſymptoms of his future greatneſs; and addreſſing him in a prophetic tone, “Pursue” (ſaid he) “your deſign, proceed to Italy; you will ſoon caſt away this “coarſe garment of ſkins; and your wealth will “be adequate to the liberality of your mind.”

\* Jornandes, c. 22. 23, p. 481-482. M. de Bion (1794) *des Origines de l'Europe*, tom. viii. p. 211-212, has chaſtly expreſſed the origin and adventures of Odoacer. I am almost inclined to believe that he was the ſame who pillaged Aſia, and committed a ſort of Roman piracy in the ocean. *Geog. Tutin* 162, c. 16, p. 100. n. p. 110.

† Vales ad Italian, *vale villanus non pſſime compoſit*; ſed miſſis que pſſime legitima. *Auguſt. Vales* p. 377. He quotes the 22d of St. Bede's, which is extant; and contains much unknown and valuable hiſtory: it was compoſed by his diſciple Eugeſtius, 16. 22. 23. thirty years after his death. See T. 2. *ſcript.*, *Wald.* *ſcript.* tom. vii. p. 188-181.

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CONTINUATION

The barbarian, whose daring spirit accepted and ratified the prediction, was admitted into the service of the western empire, and soon obtained an honourable rank in the guards. His manners were gradually polished, his military skill was improved, and the confederates of Italy would not have elected him for their general, unless the exploits of Odoacer had established a high opinion of his courage and capacity.<sup>1</sup> Their military acclamations saluted him with the title of king; but he abstained, during his whole reign, from the use of the purple and diadem,<sup>2</sup> lest he should offend those princes, whose subjects, by their accidental mixture, had formed the victorious army which time and policy might insensibly unite into a great nation.

Continuation  
of the  
western  
empire,  
A. D. 479,  
to A. D.  
479.

Royalty was familiar to the barbarians, and the submissive people of Italy was prepared to obey, without a murmur, the authority which he should condescend to exercise as the viceroy of the emperor of the West. But Odoacer had resolved to abolish that useless and expensive office; and such is the weight of antique prejudice, that it required some boldness and penetration to discover the extreme facility of the enterprise. The unfortunate Augustulus was made the instrument of

<sup>1</sup> Theophrastus, who calls him a Goth, asserts, that he was educated, carried (expelled) by Italy, (i. e. 1071), and as he offers expiation will not bear a literal interpretation, it must be explained by a long residence in the imperial guards.

<sup>2</sup> *Nomen regis illiusque monarchie, non tamen aspectu perperam se regibus intererat insignibus.* Cassiodorus ad Chron. A. D. 576. He must be here possessed the abstract title of a king, without applying it to any particular nation or country.

his own disgrace; he signified his resignation to the senate; and that assembly, in their last act of obedience to a Roman prince, still affected the spirit of freedom, and the forms of the constitution. An epistle was addressed, by their unanimous decree, to the emperor Zeno, the son-in-law and successor of Leo; who had lately been restored, after a short rebellion, to the Byzantine throne. They solemnly "disclaim the necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any longer the imperial succession in Italy: since, in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect, at the same time, both the East and the West. In their own name, and in the name of the people, they consent that the seat of universal empire shall be transferred from Rome to Constantinople; and they loudly reassert the right of choosing their master, the only vestige that yet remained of the authority which had given laws to the world. The republic (they repeat that name without a blush) might safely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; and they humbly request, that the emperor would invest him with the title of Patrician, and the administration of the diocesis of Italy." The deputies of the senate were received at Constantinople with some marks of displeasure and indignation; and when they were admitted to the audience of Zeno, he sternly reproached them with their treatment of the two emperors, Anthemius and Nepos, whom the East had universally granted to the prayers of Italy.

CHAP. XXXVI. "The first" (continued he) "you have surrendered; the second you have expelled; but the second is still alive, and whilst he lives he is your lawful sovereign." But the prudent Zeno soon deserted the hopeless cause of his abdicated colleague. His vanity was gratified by the title of sole emperor, and by the statues erected to his honour in the several quarters of Rome; he entertained a friendly, though ambiguous, correspondence with the patrician Odovacer; and he gratefully accepted the imperial ensigns, the sacred ornaments of the throne and palace, which the barbarian was not unwilling to remove from the sight of the people.<sup>1</sup>

Augustus is included in the Lullian rule.

In the space of twenty years since the death of Valentinian, nine emperors had successively disappeared; and the son of Orestes, a youth recommended only by his beauty, would be the least entitled to the notice of posterity, if his reign, which was marked by the extinction of the Roman empire in the West, did not leave a memorable era in the history of mankind.<sup>2</sup> The patrician Orestes had married the daughter of Count Romulus, of Petovio in Noricum; the

<sup>1</sup> *Agathang*, whose lines excites our regret, has preserved the fragment. Legat. p. 53) this extraordinary embassy from the senate to Zeno. The *Chronicon Gregorianum*, pp. 717, and the *Chronicon Cassiodori*, signed *Phil.*, p. 716, are silent of this fact.

<sup>2</sup> The precise year in which the western empire was extinguished is not positively ascertained. The vulgar era of A. D. 476, applies to the date of the deposition of the emperor. May the two dates assigned by *Alexander*, to 46, p. 186, would delay that great event to the year 479; and though *M. de Bouc* has established his evidence, he produces them, *ibid.*, p. 291-295, solely to defend a conjecture in support of the same opinion.

name of *Augustus*, notwithstanding the jealousy of power, was known at Aquileia as a familiar surname; and the appellations of the two great founders of the city, and of the monarchy, were thus strangely united in the last of their successors.\* The son of Orestes assumed and disgraced the names of *Romulus Augustus*; but the first was corrupted into *Momyllus*, by the Greeks, and the second has been changed by the Latins into the contemptible diminutive *Augustulus*. The life of this inoffensive youth was spared by the generous clemency of Odoacer; who dismissed him, with his whole family, from the imperial palace; fixed his annual allowance at six thousand pieces of gold, and assigned the castle of *Lavallus*, in *Campania*, for the place of his exile or retirement.<sup>†</sup> As soon as the Romans breathed from the toils of the Punic war, they were attracted by the beauties and the pleasures of *Campania*; and the country-house of the elder *Scipio* at *Laternum*, exhibited a lasting

\* See his medals in *Diogenes* (*Fast. Byzant.* p. 41), *Frederic*, (*Reign-Eight* p. 31. *Maffei* *Discretiss. Letterar.* tom. II. p. 218). We may suppose a *Campania* and similar name. The present subjects of the Roman empire bounding the alluvial water of *Phrygia*, which, by the conversion of *Itruria*, has been communicated to a sister nation.

† *Yegoroff* *causa* *Romanorum* *deponit* *Augustulum* *de* *regno*, *et* *in* *insulam* *avertit* *concessit* *et* *ingressum* *et* *quoniam* *puberum*, *causa* *deponit* *et* *reddidit* *ita* *millia* *solidos*, *et* *hab* *in* *Campania* *in* *insulam* *paravit* *et* *ibi* *rexit*. *Gregor. Tur.* p. 714. *Jordanus* *op.* *ca.* 48, p. 680, in *Constantin* *Parthenon* *causa* *in* *insulam* *paravit*.

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model of their rustic simplicity.\* The delicious shores of the bay of Naples were crowded with villas; and Sylla applauded the masterly skill of his rival, who had seated himself on the lofty promontory of Misenum, that commands, on every side, the sea and land, as far as the boundaries of the horizon.<sup>†</sup> The villa of Marius was purchased, within a few years, by Lucullus, and the price had increased from two thousand five hundred, to more than fourscore thousand pounds sterling.<sup>‡</sup> It was adorned by the new proprietor with Grecian arts, and Asiatic treasures; and the houses and gardens of Lucullus obtained a distinguished rank in the list of imperial palaces.<sup>§</sup> When the Vandals became

\* See the elegant Description of *Paradise*, by *Boissade*. The philosopher might have concluded, that all history is vanity; and that the wise Sylla, whose measures were guided by study and investigation, was himself deceived at that time by his vulgar countrymen; *Idem*, *ibid.*, 176.

† Sylla, in the language of a writer, passed his private hours happily (*Plin. Hist. Natur.* 22. 17). *Flaccinus*, who passed his life with these studies, the source of his delight being, *ibid.*, 25, and thus descended the stream.

Castra Tibullina quatuor gentes Neapolitanas.

Et Misenumque villam centumvirescentem.

Quae centum annorum postea Lucullus aedificavit.

Imperatoris sedibus et patris Tiberii castra.

† From seven periods and a half to two hundred and forty years of obscurity, yet even in the possession of Marius, it was a luxurious retirement. The Romans divided his habitation; they even bewailed his solitude. See *Plutarch*, in *Marius*, tom. 5, p. 384.

‡ Lucullus had taken *Antioch*, *Syria*, *Thrace*, *Lycaonia*, *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, *Asia*, *Byzantium*, &c. He bought *Marone* charged his house with the sticks and stones. *Plutarch*, in *Lucullus*, tom. 2, p. 176.

formidable to the sea-coast, the Lucullan villa, on the promontory of Misenum, gradually assumed the strength and appellation of a strong castle, the obscure retreat of the last emperor of the West. About twenty years after that great revolution, it was converted into a church and monastery, to receive the bones of St Severinus. They securely reposed, amidst the broken trophies of Cimblic and Armenian victories, till the beginning of the tenth century : when the fortifications, which might afford a dangerous shelter to the Saracens, were demolished by the people of Naples.\*

Odoacer was the first barbarian who reigned in Italy, over a people who had once asserted their just superiority above the rest of mankind. The disgrace of the Romans still excites our respectful compassion, and we fondly sympathise with the imaginary grief and indignation of their degenerate posterity. But the calamities of Italy had gradually subdued the proud consciousness of freedom and glory. In the age of Roman virtue, the provinces were subject to the arms, and the citizens to the laws, of the republic : till those laws were subverted by civil discord, and both

Deceit of  
the Roman  
spirit.

\* *Fastidius* died in Narbonne, A. D. 455. His years were spent, not Italy, which scattered warblers as he passed, was transported by his indulgence into Italy. The devotion of a Neapolitan lady induced the saint to the Lucullan villa, in the place of Augustinus, who was probably no man. See Hamilton, (*Annals Eccles.* A. D. 455, 2<sup>a</sup>, 30, 31, 32, and Tillamont, (*Mon. Eccles. Ital.* tom. xix, p. 128-131), from the original life by Hippolytus. The migration of the last migration of Severinus to Naples, is illustrated in authentic form.

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the city and the provinces became the private property of a tyrant. The forms of the constitution, which alleviated or disguised their abject slavery, were abolished by time and violence; the Italians alternately lamented the presence or the absence of the sovereigns, whom they detested or despised; and the succession of five centuries inflicted the various evils of military license, capricious despotism, and elaborate oppression. During the same period, the barbarians had emerged from obscurity and contempt, and the warriors of Germany and Scythia were introduced into the provinces, as the servants, the allies, and at length the masters, of the Romans, whom they insulted or protected. The hatred of the people was suppressed by fear; they respected the spirit and splendour of the martial chiefs who were invested with the honours of the empire; and the fate of Rome had long depended on the sword of those formidable strategers. The stern Ricimer, who trampled on the ruins of Italy, had exercised the power, without assuming the title, of a king; and the patient Romans were insensibly prepared to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his barbaric successors.

Character  
and reign  
of Odoacer.  
vol. x. p.  
876-490.

The king of Italy was not unworthy of the high station to which his valour and fortune had exalted him; his savage manners were polished by the habits of conversation; and he respected, though a conqueror and a barbarian, the institutions, and even the prejudices, of his subjects.

After an interval of seven years, Odoacer restored the citizenship of the West. For himself, he modestly, or proudly, declined an honour which was still accepted by the emperors of the East; but the senate itself was successively filled by eleven of the most illustrious senators; and the list is adorned by the respectable name of Boetius, whose virtues claimed the friendship and grateful applause of Valentinian, his friend.<sup>1</sup> The laws of the emperors were strictly enforced, and the civil administration of Italy was still exercised by the pretorian prefect, and his subordinate officers. Odoacer devolved on the Roman magistrates the odious and oppressive task of collecting the public revenue; but he reserved for himself the merit of seasonable and popular indulgence.<sup>2</sup> Like the rest of the barbarians, he had been instructed in the Arian heresy; but he revered the monastic and episcopal characters; and the silence of the ecclesiastics attests the toleration which they enjoyed. The peace of the city required the interposition

<sup>1</sup> The consular Fasti may be found in Fagi or Muratori. The consuls named by Odoacer, or perhaps by the Roman senate, appear to have been acknowledged in the western empire.

<sup>2</sup> Sidonius Apollinarius *de la. epist.* 9, p. 178, edit. Burmanni has composed the very leading sentences of his time, [A. D. 480], Gensulfus Avinionus and Cassius Boetius. To the former he assigns the opening, to the latter the solid, virtues of public and private life. A. Boetius, junior, possibly his son, was consul in the year 489.

<sup>3</sup> Epiphanius interdicted the people of Pavia, and the king first granted an indulgence of ten years, and afterwards relieved them from the oppression of Vigilius, the papal prefect, *Historia*, in Viti. H. Epiphanius in *Monach. Oper. tom.* 1, p. 2879, 1672.

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*Continued.*

of his prefect Basilus in the choice of a Roman pontiff: the decree which restrained the clergy from alienating their lands, was ultimately designed for the benefit of the people, whose devotion would have been taxed to repair the dilapidations of the church\*. Italy was protected by the arms of its conqueror; and its frontiers were respected by the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had so long mauled the feeble race of Theodosius. Odoacer passed the Adriatic, to chastise the assassins of the emperor Nepes, and to acquire the maritime province of Dalmatia. He passed the Alps, to rescue the remains of Noricum from Fava, or Felletheus, king of the Rugians, who held his residence beyond the Danube. The king was vanquished in battle, and led away prisoner; a numerous colony of captives and subjects was transplanted into Italy; and Rome, after a long period of desert and disgrace, might claim the triumph of her barbarian master!

Miorzkla  
state of  
Italy.

Notwithstanding the prudence and success of Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the sad prospect of misery and desolation. Since the age of Tiberius, the decay of agriculture had been felt

\* See Basilides, *Antiq. Teym.* A. D. 488, N° 13, 12. Sixteen years afterwards, the regular proceedings of Basilus were interrupted by Pope Symmachus in a Roman synod.

† The wars of Odoacer are differently mentioned by Paul the deacon, the Hist. Longobard. l. i. c. 19, p. 125, with Gesta, and by the two Chronicles of Cassiodorus and Eufronius. The Hist. of St. Symeon, by Eufronius, which the names of Basil (Hist. des Papes), and Gesta, N° 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

in Italy; and it was a just subject of complaint, that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of the winds and waves.\* In the division and decline of the empire, the tributary harvests of Egypt and Africa were withdrawn; the numbers of the inhabitants continually diminished with the means of subsistence; and the country was exhausted by the irretrievable losses of war, famine,† and pestilence. St. Ambrose has deplored the ruin of a populous district, which had been once adorned with the flourishing cities of Bologna, Modena, Regium, and Placentia.‡ Pope Gelasius was a subject of Odovacer, and he affirms, with strong exaggeration, that in Emilia, Tuscan, and the adjacent provinces, the human species was almost extirpated.§ The plebeians of Rome, who were fed by the hand of their master, perished or disappeared, as soon as his liberality was suppressed; the decline of the arts reduced the industrious mechanic to idleness and want; and the senators, who might support with patience the

\* Tacit. *Annal.* vi. 22. The *Recherches sur l'Administration des Romains*, pp. 351-361, clearly sets the progress of several decay.

† A famine, which afflicted Italy at the close of the reign of Gelasius, king of the Heruli, is eloquently described in prose and verse, by a French poet, (*L'Es. Mon.* tom. vi. p. 274, 275, *edit. de Paris*). I am ignorant from whence he derived his information; but I am well-assured that he relates some facts incongruously with the truth of history.

‡ See the excellent epistle of St. Ambrose, to it quoted by Marcellus, *supra* in *Antichit. Italica*, tom. i. *liber.* vol. 1. p. 324.

§ *Epistola*, *Thoma. interpres provincie in quibus hominum genus nullum reliquit*. Gelasius, *Epist.* ad *Ambrosianum*, *op. Theodorus Annal. Boetii* l. ii. *lib.* 57. 24.

CHAP. ruin of their country, bewailed their private loss  
 XXXV. of wealth and luxury. One-third of those ample  
 estates, to which the ruin of Italy is originally im-  
 puted,\* was extorted for the use of the conquer-  
 ors. Injuries were aggravated by insults; the  
 sense of actual sufferings was embittered by the  
 fear of more dreadful evils; and as new lands  
 were allotted to new swarms of barbarians, each  
 senator was apprehensive lest the arbitrary sur-  
 veyors should approach his favourite villa, or his  
 most profitable farm. The least unfortunate were  
 those who submitted without a murmur to the  
 power which it was impossible to resist. Since  
 they desired to live, they owed some gratitude to  
 the tyrant who had spared their lives; and since  
 he was the absolute master of their fortunes, the  
 portion which he left must be accepted as his pure  
 and voluntary gift.† The distress of Italy was  
 mitigated by the prudence and humanity of Odo-  
 wacer, who had bound himself, at the price of his  
 elevation, to satisfy the demands of a licentious and  
 turbulent multitude. The kings of the barbarians  
 were frequently resisted, deposed, or murdered,  
 by their native subjects; and the various bands  
 of Italian mercenaries, who associated under the  
 standard of an elective general, claimed a larger

\* *Tercentis partibusque, latifundia villasque Italianas*. *Proc. Met. Sicul.* xxiij. l.

† Such are the signs of simulation, or rather of passion, which *Caesar* and *Frontinus*, the 14. epist. 15. suppose to his friend *Postumus Petrus*, under the military despotism of *Caesar*. The argument, however, of "*prope pauperum domi*," is more forcibly addressed to a Roman philosopher, who possessed the free alternative of life or death.

privilege of freedom and rapine. A monarchy, CHAP.  
XXVII  
destitute of national union, and hereditary right, hastened to its dissolution. After a reign of fourteen years, Odoacer was oppressed by the superior genius of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, a hero alike excellent in the arts of war and of government, who restored an age of peace and prosperity, and whose name still excites and deserves the attention of mankind.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*Origin, progress, and effects of the monastic life—Conversion of the barbarians to Christianity and Arianism—Persecution of the Paganists in Africa—Extinction of Arianism among the barbarians.*

CHAP.  
XXXVII.  
*Monasticism*

THE indissoluble connection of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, has compelled and encouraged me to relate the progress, the persecutions, the establishment, the divisions, the final triumph, and the gradual corruption of Christianity. I have purposely delayed the consideration of two religious events, interesting in the study of human nature, and important in the decline and fall of the Roman empire: I. The institution of the monastic life; and, II. The conversion of the northern barbarians.

I. THE  
MONASTIC  
LIFE.  
*Origin of  
the monks.*

I. Prosperity and peace introduced the distinction of the *vulgar* and the *ascetic Christians*.<sup>a</sup> The loose and imperfect practice of religion in-

<sup>a</sup> The origin of the monastic institution has been tolerably discussed by Thomassin, *Théologie de l'Eglise*, tome 4, p. 142-143, and Helyet, *Utile des Ordres Monastiques*, tome 1, p. 146. These authors are very correct and minutely honest, and their diffidence of opinion shows the subject in its full extent. For the modern progress, the abuses, and present state, they consult the seventh book of Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*.

<sup>b</sup> See Fouché, *Démocratie Française*, II. 4. p. 38, II. 100. Goyau, *Essai*, p. 124. In his *Enfance et Histoire*, published twelve years after the *Démocratie*, Fouché (II. 2. 11) asserts the Christianity of the Therapeutes; but he appears ignorant that a similar institution was actually named in Egypt.

CHAP.  
XXXVII.  
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lished the conscience of the multitude. The prince or magistrate, the soldier or merchant, reconciled their fervent zeal, and implicit faith, with the excuse of their profession, the pursuit of their interest, and the indulgence of their passions: but the Ascetics, who obeyed and abused the rigid precepts of the gospel, were inspired by the savage enthusiasm, which represents man as a criminal, and God as a tyrant. They solemnly renounced the business, and the pleasures, of the age: abjured the use of wine, of flesh, and of marriage: chastised their body, mortified their affections, and embraced a life of misery, as the price of eternal happiness. In the reign of Constantine, the Ascetics fled from a profane and degenerate world, to perpetual solitude, or religious society: like the first Christians of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> they resigned the use, or the property, of their temporal possessions; established regular communities of the same sex, and a similar disposition; and assumed the names of *Hermits*, *Monks*, and *Anachorites*, expressive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial desert. They soon acquired the respect of the world, which they despised: and the loudest applause was bestowed on this Divine Pyrrhonism,<sup>2</sup> which sup-

<sup>1</sup> See the Notes on the 12th, 13th, and 14th chapters of the Acts, which gradually directed all of our conduct to sobriety and simplicity.

<sup>2</sup> *Stoicism* was a system of religious ideas, and not a philosophical system. There are the numerous sects of Stoicism, the Epicureans, and the various sects of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 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repentance of mankind, a perpetual supply of voluntary assassines!

CHAP.  
XIX.

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Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afforded the first example of the mummy life. Antony,<sup>2</sup> an illiterate<sup>3</sup> youth of the lower parts of Thebais, distributed his patrimony,<sup>4</sup> deserted his family and native home, and executed his romantic penance with original and intrepid fanaticism. After a long and painful noviciate, among the tombs, and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the desert three days journey, to the eastward of the Nile; discovered a

Antony  
and the  
monks of  
Egypt.  
A. D. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Plin. Hist. Natur.* v. 12. *Græc. sibi, et in sua sede prætoris amicus illius, cum illi darent, cum videret talibus, cum periret, cum palam.* The poet *verulam melle theophilis daret* gives some sort of evidence. Two tombs like Antony's are pointed out. He places them just beyond the western entrance of the Nile, and names Epaphroditus and Melchior as the recent owners. The latter, and monastery of St. Paphos, could not be far distant from this place. See Richard, *Palæstina* tom. 6, p. 241; tom. 2, p. 276, 277, 280, 281.

<sup>3</sup> See Athanas. *Op. tom. ii.* p. 455, 201, and the *Vit. Patrum*, p. 15-74, with Ruessing's Annotations. The father of the monk original; the latter, a very ancient Latin version of Eusebius, the Bishop of St. Jerome.

<sup>4</sup> *Appianus per munda ex mægnes.* Athanas. tom. ii. in *Vit. St. Anton.* p. 211; and the question of his land (quantity 400) being granted by some of the monks and masters. But Tillmann (*Mon. Egipt.* tom. 2, p. 276) shows, by some probable supposition, that Antony could read and write in the Coptic, his native tongue; and that he was only a stranger in the Greek letters. The philosopher Epiphanius (p. 12) acknowledges, that the natural genius of Antony did not require the aid of learning.

<sup>5</sup> *Septem milia stadia in thesauris domus, et edificiorum.* (*Vit. Patrum* &c. p. 39.) While there he acquired possession of an hundred Egyptian talents, (*Herodes Abbot* tom. ii. *Vit. Patrum*, p. 1014, 1015) and the Egyptian spirit of all ages he equal to twenty-two English talents, (*Græc.* vol. 2, p. 226), the sum will amount at least three quarters of an English million.

CHAP.  
XXXVII.  
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lonely spot, which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on mount Colzim near the Red Sea; where an ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the saint.<sup>1</sup> The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the desert; and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, whose doctrine he approved; and the Egyptian peasant respectfully declined a respectful invitation from the emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of one hundred and five years) beheld the numerous progeny which had been formed by his example and his lessons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexandria, the mountain, and adjacent desert, of Nitria, were peopled by five thousand anachorets; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries, which were planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony.<sup>2</sup> In the Upper Thebais,

A. D. 251.  
336.

<sup>1</sup> The description of the monastery is given by Jerome, *Book 4*, p. 245, 246, in *Vit. Eusebii*, and the P. Soudi (*Musée de Livourne*, tom. 1, p. 182-183). That account cannot always be considered: the author parted from his fancy, and too far from his experience.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome, tom. 1, p. 182, of *Constantin*. Hist. *London* v. 7, in *Vit. Eusebii*, p. 115. The P. Soudi (*Musée de Livourne*, tom. 1, p. 182-183) is cited, and has described the desert, which now contains several monasteries, and every is dirty monks. See D'Anville, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 74.

the vacant island of Tabenne\* was occupied by Pachomius, and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot successively founded nine monasteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected fifty thousand religious persons, who followed his angelic rule of discipline.\* The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the seat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop who might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thousand females, and twenty thousand males, of the monastic profession.\* The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope, and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people;† and posterity might repeat the saying, which had formerly been applied to the sacred

\* Tabenne is a small island in the Nile, in the Delta of Tentyra or Dendera, between the modern town of Sirge and the ruins of ancient Ptohis, (D'Anville, p. 184). M. de Tillemont doubts whether it was an isle; but I may conclude, from his own facts, that the principal monasteries were afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bous or Fehou, (Oriens. Sacres, tom. 10, p. 578, 685).

† See in the *United Magazine* (published by James Mearns, Birm., 1661) a preface of St. Isidore to his Latin version of the Rule of Pachomius, tom. 1, p. 61.

\* Balth. v. l. 1. in VII. Petron., p. 428. He calls its citizens angels, calls it populous, and reckons twelve churches. Balth. v. l. 1. p. 1140, and Ammianus, lib. 18, p. 181, have made considerable mistakes of Oxyrinchus, which Iohannis† called a small city in a magnificent temple.

\* Quodam populi numerus in ecclesiis, tantaque habundantia in domesticis institutionibus monasticarum. Balth. v. l. 1. in VII. Petron., p. 481. He exaggerates the fortunate change.

CHAP. animals of the same country, that, in Egypt, it  
XXXVII was less difficult to find a god, than a man.

Propagation of the monastic life at Rome, A. D. 341.  
Athanasius introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who accompanied their primate to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and savage appearance of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the narrow institution of six vestals, was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries, which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the Roman Forum.\* Inflamed by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth, whose name was Hilarion,† fixed his dreary abode on a sandy beach, between the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance, in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm: and the holy man was followed by a train of two or three thousand anachorets, whenever he visited the innumerable monasteries of Palestine. The fate of Basil‡ is immortal in the

Hilarion,  
in Palestine,  
A. D. 328.

Basil in  
Pontus,  
A. D. 360.

\* The introduction of the monastic life into Rome and Italy, is constantly mentioned by Jerome, *lib. i. p. 118, 120, 126.*

† See the life of Hilarion, by St. Jerome, *lib. i. p. 241, 242.* The stories of Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus, by the same author, are likewise told; and the only defect of these pleasing compositions is the want of truth and common sense.

‡ The original context was in a small village on the banks of the Iris, and the town Nicomedia. The son of twelve years of his

monastic history of the East. With a mind that had tasted the learning and eloquence of Athens; within unobdurate scarcely to be satisfied by the archbishopric of Caesarea, Basil retired to a savage solitude in Pontus; and designed for a while to give laws to the spiritual colonies which he profusely scattered along the coast of the Black Sea. In the West, Martin of Tours,\* a soldier, an hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul; two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave; and his eloquent historian challenges the deserts of Thule, to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid, or universal, than that of Christianity itself. Every province, and, at last, every city, of the empire, was filled with their increasing multitudes; and the bleak and barren isles, from Lerins to Lipari, that arise out of the Tuscan sea, were chosen by the anchorites, for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world; and the life of Hilarion displays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Palestine might tra-

CHAP.  
XII

Martin in  
1964.  
A. D. 1973.

presented that were distorted by long and frequent assertions. Some courts have disputed the authenticity of his Spanish notes, but the original evidence is authentic, and they can only prove that it is the work of a real or fictitious individual. See *Tilgham v. Mott*, 100 N. H. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915,

<sup>2</sup> The first sale, and the Three Illusions by Benjamin Nelson, also amongst others, p. 186, that the bookshelves of Rome were delighted with the work and ready sale of his popular work.

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 .....  
 verso Egypt, embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally settle in the island of Cyprus.\* The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, eagerly copied, in the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic, over the Christian empire of Ethiopia.<sup>†</sup> The monastery of Bangor,<sup>‡</sup> in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand brethren, dispersed a numerous colony among the barbarians of Ireland:<sup>§</sup> and Iona, one of the Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish monks, diffused over the northern regions a doubtful ray of science and superstition.<sup>||</sup>

\* When Hilarion sailed from Ptolemais to Cape Paphos, he offered to pay his passage with a book of the Gospel. — Pothimus, a Gallic monk, who had visited Egypt, found a merchant ship bound from Alexandria to Marseilles, and performed the voyage in thirty days. (Vulp. Sever. Dialog. l. 13.) Athanasius, who addressed his *Life of St. Antony* to the foreign monks, was obliged to insert the supposition, that it might be ready for the sailing of the same, (tom. ii. p. 457.)

† See *Jerom*, *tom. i. p. 126*, *Armenius*, *Monach. Orient. tom. ii. p. 36*, *p. 441-442*, and *Gibbon*, *Church History of Ethiopia*, p. 25, 26, 27. The Abyssinian monks adhere very strictly to the primitive institution.

‡ *Camden's Britannia*, vol. i. p. 245, 247.

§ All that learning can extract from the rubbish of the dark ages is especially stated by Archbishop Usher, in his *Reconnaissance Ecclesiæ hibernicæ antiquitatem*, cap. xix. p. 484-487.

|| This small, though not barren, open Iona, 27, as *Columbani*, only two miles in length, and one mile in breadth, has been distinguished 1. By the monastery of St. Columba, founded A. D. 557; whose abbots exercised an extraordinary jurisdiction over the bishops of Scotland. 2. By a cloister library, which afforded some support of an ancient library; and, 3. By the words of early kings, saints, poets, and

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Causes of  
the rapid  
progress

These unhappy exiles from social life were impelled by the dark and implacable genius of superstition. Their mutual resolution was supported by the example of millions, of either sex, of every age, and of every rank; and each proselyte, who entered the gates of a monastery, was persuaded, that he trod the steep and thorny path of eternal happiness.<sup>b</sup> But the operation of these religious motives was variously determined by the temper and situation of mankind. Reason might subdue, or passion might suspend, their influence: but they acted most forcibly on the inferior minds of children and females: they were strengthened by secret remorse, or accidental misfortune; and they might derive some aid from the temporal considerations of vanity or interest. It was naturally supposed that the pious and humble monks, who had renounced the world, to accomplish the work of their salvation, were the best qualified for the spiritual government of the Christians. The reluctant hermit was torn from his cell, and seated, amidst the acclamations of the people, on the episcopal throne: the nume-

and Norwages, who reposed in holy ground. See Oakes, iv. 213, 214, 215, and Richman, (Hist. book. i. c. 2, p. 12, 211. Baskin's).

<sup>b</sup> Chrysostom in the first tome of the *Bibliotheca patrum* has commented three books on the praise and defence of the monastic life. He is encouraged, by the example of the ark, to promise, that none but the elect (the monks) can possibly be saved, (i. c. p. 12, 20. Klossius; indeed, he becomes more terrified; c. iii. p. 25, 44, and shows different degrees of glory like the stars, moon, and sun. In this happy comparison of a king and a monk, c. ii. p. 12-21), he opposes what is hardly less, that the king will be more sparingly rewarded, and more severely punished.

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stories of Egypt, of Gaul, and of the East, supplied a regular succession of saints and bishops; and ambition soon discovered the secret road which led to the possession of wealth and honours.\* The popular monks, whose reputation was connected with the fame and success of the order, assiduously laboured to multiply the number of their fellow-captives. They inducted themselves into noble and opulent families; and the specious arts of flattery and seduction were employed to secure those proselytes, who might bestow wealth or dignity on the monastic profession. The indignant father bewailed the loss, perhaps, of an only son;† the credulous maid was betrayed by vanity to violate the laws of nature; and the matron aspired to imaginary perfection, by renouncing the virtues of domestic life. Paula yielded to the persuasive eloquence of Jerom;‡ and the profane title of mother-in-law of God,§ tempted that illustrious widow, to

\* *Thomassin* (*Essai sur l'Origine des Religions*, tom. ii. p. 246-249), and *Mabillon* (*Desseins des Moines*, tom. iv. p. 114-119). The monks were generally adopted as a part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

† *St. Basil* (*op. cit.* i. p. 119) severely censures the conduct and selfishness of Christians, one of the most eloquent and successful sermons for the monastic life.

‡ *Jerom's* *desert father* forms a very considerable portion of his works; the particular treatise, which he styles the *Epistle of Paula*, tom. i. p. 168-181, is an elaborate and extravagant panegyric. The conclusion is remarkably strong.—“If all the members of my church were changed into angels, and if all my limbs resembled with a human voice, yet should I be incapable,” &c.

§ *Isidore* *Des saints ermites*, *op. cit.* tom. ii. p. 143, ad *Beatus* *Abbas* *St. Basil*, in *Harmonia*, *op. cit.* tom. iv. p. 223, who was justly censured, and his adversary, *Paul*, whose paper just he had stolen as expression of impiety and abuse.

consecrate the virginity of her daughter Eustochium. By the advice, and in the company, of her spiritual guide, Paula abandoned Rome and her infant son, retired to the holy village of Bethlem; founded an hospital and four monasteries; and acquired, by her alms and penance, an eminent and conspicuous station in the catholic church. Such rare and illustrious penitents were celebrated as the glory and example of their age; but the monasteries were filled by a crowd of obscure and abject plebeians,\* who gained in the cloister much more than they had sacrificed in the world. Peasants, slaves, and mechanics, might escape from poverty and contempt, to a safe and honourable profession; whose apparent hardships were mitigated by custom, by popular applause, and by the secret relaxation of discipline.<sup>b</sup> The subjects of Rome, whose persons and fortunes were made responsible for unequal and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppression of the imperial government; and the pusillanimous youth preferred the penance of a monastic, to the dangers of a military, life. The

\* *Nonnulli autem recentior philosophi ad hanc professionem vocantur. Dicunt, ut ex conditione vestris, sed citius dixerunt, ad penam, quam a Deo esse debent, etiam dixerunt, ut ex illa conditione, ut ex ipsorum experientia in penam dixerunt. Augustinus, de Opere Monach. c. 17. et c. 18. Tunc dicitur, de Opere, non illi p. 1084. The Egyptians, says Bernardinus, owned that he had a more comfortable life elsewhere, than in a monastery. See Thomas, Mon. Babil. tom. viii. p. 828.*

<sup>b</sup> A Frenchman also, (Wargot de P. Lott, tom. ii. p. 16, who judged of Italy by a census of his brethren, and understood, that their report was never interrupted by murmured freedom; "quelques ne l'ont pas en action pour l'édification du peuple."

SWAT. affrighted provincials, of every rank, who fled be-  
 NXXVH fore the barbarians, found shelter and ministerer,  
 whose legions were hurried in these religious sanc-  
 tuaries; and the same cause, which relieved the  
 distress of individuals, impaired the strength and  
 fortitude of the empire.<sup>1</sup>

Onfluence  
 of the  
 monks.

The monastic profession of the ancients<sup>2</sup> was  
 an act of voluntary devotion. The inconstant fa-  
 tistic was threatened with the eternal vengeance of  
 the God whom he deserted: but the doors of the  
 monastery were still open for repentance. Those  
 monks, whose conscience was fortified by reason  
 or passion, were at liberty to resume the cha-  
 racter of men and citizens; and even the spouses  
 of Christ might accept the legal embraces of an  
 earthly lover.<sup>3</sup> The examples of scandal, and  
 the progress of superstition, suggested the pro-  
 priety of more forcible restraints. After a var-

<sup>1</sup> See a very sensible picture of Lewis Molossian to the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae. The emperor attempted to suppress the obligation of public and private duties; but the public offices were swept away by the waves of iniquity; and the private obligations remained the most necessary and the most useful. (Theodosius, tom. i. p. 1198-1199, and Dagobert, l. vi. c. 10. p. 122.)

<sup>2</sup> The monastic institutions, particularly those of Egypt, about the year 400, are described by four curious and devout travellers, Rufinus (Vie. Patrum, l. ii. c. p. 124-126); Pothimus, Odo-  
 Cyprian, Dialog. by Tatianus, Hist. Ecclesiae, in Vie. Patrum, p. 108-  
 110; and Cassian, lxx in tom. vii. Bibliothecae Hist. Patrum, p. 110-112. See also the lives of Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, in the same Collection or the same works.

<sup>3</sup> The example of Marcellus, Cassian, tom. i. p. 110; and the design of Cassian and his friends, Cassian, tom. i. p. 110, are remarkable proofs of this freedom; which is likewise described by Epiphanius, the Bishop of Salamis, in his Catalogue, Hist. des Hérétiques, tom. ii. p. 170-172.

ficient trial, the fidelity of the novice was secured by a solemn and perpetual vow; and his irrevocable engagement was ratified by the laws of the church and state. A guilty fugitive was pursued, arrested, and restored to his perpetual prison; and the interposition of the magistrate oppressed the freedom and merit, which had alleviated, in some degree, the subject slavery of the monastic discipline.\* The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts, were determined by an inexorable rule,† or a capricious superior: the slightest offences were corrected by disgrace or confinement, extraordinary tasks or bloody flagellation; and disobedience, murmur, or delay, were ranked in the catalogue of the most heinous sins.‡ A blind

\* See the laws of Justinian, (Novel. centii, N<sup>o</sup>. 42), and of Lewis the Pious, on the hierarchy of France, tom. vi. p. 147, and the actual jurisprudence of France, in Guenois, (Hélieux, &c. tom. ix. p. 341, &c.).

† The ancient *Constitutio Regumensis*, collected by Benedict Biscopius, the reference of the monks in the beginning of the ninth century, and published in the seventeenth, by Lucas Holstenius, contains thirty different rules for monks and women. Of these, seven were composed in Egypt; one in the East, one in Cappadocia, one in Italy, one in Africa, four in Spain, eight in Gaul, or France, and one in England.

‡ The rule of Columbanus, so prevalent in the West, defines nine hundred lashes for very slight offences. (Cod. Reg. part II. p. 174). Before the time of Chastelaigne, the monks rebuked themselves by scourging their heads, or yosting on their heads a ponderous weight less cruel than the tremendous rods or pikes, the subterraneous dungeons, or sepulchres, where was afterwards treated, for an admirable discourse of the learned Mabillon, (De rebus Publicis, tom. II. p. 281-285) seems, on this occasion, seems to be inspired by the genius of humanity. For with no effort, I can forgive his defence of the holy ear of Yvanus, pp. 365-389.

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 submission to the commands of the abbot, however absurd, or even criminal, they might seem, was the ruling principle, the first virtue of the Egyptian monks; and their patience was frequently exercised by the most extravagant trials. They were directed to remove an enormous rock; mechanically to water a barren staff, that was planted in the ground; till, at the end of three years, it should vegetate and blossom like a tree; to walk into a fiery furnace; or to cast their infant into a deep pond: and several saints, or madmen, have been immortalized, in monastic story, by their thoughtless, and fearless, obedience.\* The freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational sentiment, was destroyed by the habits of credulity and submission; and the monk, contracting the vices of a slave, devoutly followed the faith and passions of his ecclesiastical tyrant. The peace of the eastern church was invaded by a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity; and the imperial troops acknowledged, without shame, that they were much less apprehensive of an encounter with the fiercest barbarians.†

\* *Supp. Grec. Thesaur.* 2. 12. 13. p. 421, 42. *Eastern Tradition* 2. 16. 17. 22. "Præcepit illi virtutis et pietatis ac obedientie." Among the early writers, (in VII. *Patrum* 1. 1. p. 417), the fanaticism that is ascribed to the disciples of Chrysostom; and the *jeune Arsenape*, who published that huge volume by the aid of slaves, has collected all the scattered passages on the last subject before us.

† *See* *Judge (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History)* vol. 14. p. 181; who surveyed the ridiculous violence of the Cappadocian monks, who were overruled in the judgment of Chrysostom.

Superstition has often framed and consecrated the fantastic garments of the monks: but their apparent singularity sometimes proceeds from their uniform attachment to a simple and primitive model, which the revolutions of fashion have made ridiculous in the eyes of mankind. The father of the Benedictines expressly disclaims all idea of choice, or merit; and solemnly exhorts his disciples to adopt the coarse and convenient dress of the countries which they may inhabit.<sup>a</sup> The monastic habits of the ancients varied with the climate, and their mode of life; and they assumed, with the same indifference, the sheep-skin of the Egyptian peasants, or the cloak of the Grecian philosophers. They allowed themselves the use of linen in Egypt, where it was a cheap and domestic manufacture; but in the West, they rejected such an expensive article of foreign luxury.<sup>b</sup> It was the practice of the monks either to cut or shave their hair: they wrapped their heads in a cowl, to escape the sight of profane objects; their legs and feet were naked, except in the extreme cold of winter; and their slow and feeble steps were supported by a long staff. The aspect of a genuine anchorite was horrid and disgusting: every sensation that

<sup>a</sup> Cassian has simply, though copiously, described the manners of the monks of Egypt, (chap. l. vi.) in which Cassian's *l. vi.* is the substance with allegorical meaning and variety.

<sup>b</sup> Regal, *Remarques*, N<sup>o</sup>. 45, in *Essai*, Regal, part ii. p. 41.

<sup>c</sup> See the *Statute of Valentinian Bishop of Uzès*, (N<sup>o</sup>. 20, in *Essai*, Regal, part ii. p. 120), and of *Isidore's Bishop of Seville*, (N<sup>o</sup>. 15, in *Essai*, Regal, part ii. p. 114).

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XXXVII.  
Their dress  
and habit.  
monks.

THAT is offensive to man, was thought acceptable to God; and the angelic rule of Tabenne condemned the solitary custom of bathing the limbs in water, and of anointing them with oil.\* The austere monks slept on the ground, on a hard mat, or a rough blanket; and the same bundle of palm-leaves served them as a seat in the day, and a pillow in the night. Their original cells were low narrow huts, built of the slightest materials; which formed, by the regular distribution of the streets, a large and populous village, inclosing within the common wall, a church, an hospital, perhaps a library, some necessary offices, a garden, and a fountain or reservoir of fresh water. Thirty or forty brethren composed a family of separate discipline and diet; and the great monasteries of Egypt consisted of thirty or forty families.

These cells. Pleasure and guilt are synonymous terms in the language of the monks; and they had discerned, by experience, that rigid fasts and absterious diet, are the most effectual preservatives against the impure desires of the flesh.<sup>†</sup> The rules of

\* Some partial indulgence was granted to the hands and feet.

† *Quoniam autem corpus velle temperat non vult infirmitas, nec*

‡ *luctus equalis vult corpus, nec lingua perpetua sit.* (M. gal. Paphos, vol. i. part. 2. p. 79.)

§ *Et, deinde, in stringis, hoc, incontinent, language, expresses the most important use of fasting and abstinence.—Non quod Omnis*

¶ *universalis Censura et Quoniam, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

‡ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

§ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

¶ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

§ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

¶ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

§ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

¶ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

§ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

¶ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

§ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

¶ *et, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, incontinent, nec, et*

abstinence, which they imposed, or practised, were not uniform or perpetual: the cheerful festival of the Pentecost was balanced by the extraordinary mortification of Lent; the fervour of new munificences was insensibly relaxed; and the voracious appetite of the Gauls could not imitate the patient and temperate virtue of the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> The disciples of Antony and Ptochimus were satisfied with their daily pittance,<sup>2</sup> of twelve ounces of bread, or rather biscuit,<sup>3</sup> which they divided into two frugal repasts, of the afternoon, and of the evening. It was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables, which were provided for the refectory; but the extraordinary bounty of the abbot sometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheese, fruit, salad, and the small dried fish of the Nile.<sup>4</sup> A more simple latitude

<sup>1</sup> Philon in *Geogr. grec. vet.* in Greek nation, c. 11. §. 4. p. 271. "Cæsar scripsit, quod eis perfecti modis abstinentia ratione imitatus sit, ut ab omni vitæ aciem temperaret, sed illi quædam ratione singularet, (Justin. ib. 11.) Among the western tribes, that of Lombardy is the most austere; he had been educated among the poverty of Ireland; at what perhaps, and indubitably, as the abundance of Egypt. The rule of fathers of Annila is the richest; yet he allows the diet of such.

<sup>2</sup> "Those who drink only water, and have no meat, except a night, or bread, or have a pound and a half / every other day, or a loaf every day." *State of Prussia*, p. 40, by Mr. Howard.

<sup>3</sup> See *Constitution*, l. 1. c. 19. 20, 21. The monks have, or had, of six ounces each, but abstain the diet of Ptochimus, (Hic-wyde, *Monachorum*, p. 144.) Ptochimus, however, allowed his monks some libidinal in the quantity of what they eat, but he made them work in proportion as they eat, (Pallad. in *Hist. Pallad.* c. 14, 25, in *Vit. Pallad.* l. vii. p. 128, 177.)

<sup>4</sup> See the banquet to which Lucius II. dined with. It was served by Anselm, an Egyptian.

CH. 47. of sea and river fish was gradually allowed or  
 XXVII. assumed: but the use of flesh was long confined  
 to the sick or travellers; and when it gradually  
 prevailed in the less rigid monasteries of Eu-  
 rope, a singular distinction was introduced; as  
 if birds, whether wild or domestic, had been  
 less profane than the grosser animals of the  
 field. Water was the pure and innocent beve-  
 rage of the primitive monks: and the founder of  
 the Benedictines regrets the daily portion of half  
 a pint of wine, which had been extorted from  
 him by the intemperance of the age.\* Such an  
 allowance might be easily supplied by the vine-  
 yards of Italy; and his victorious disciples, who  
 passed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Baltic, re-  
 quired, in the place of wine, an adequate com-  
 pensation of strong beer or cider.

That ma-  
 nual la-  
 bour.

The candidate who aspired to the virtue of  
 evangelical poverty, abjured, at his first entrance  
 into a regular community, the iden, and even  
 the name, of all separate, or exclusive, posses-  
 sion.<sup>†</sup> The brethren were supported by their  
 manual labour; and the duty of labour was

\* See the *Rules of St. Benedict*, No. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

† Such expressions as *my book, my cloak, my shoes, my garment*, &c. were not only severely prohibited among the regular monks, (*Mon. Regul.* part ii, p. 174, 224, 280;) and the Rule of Cuthbertum provided them with its habits. The learned author of the *Order of Monks*, who taught at the French school of *St. Denis*, seems to have been equally strict.

generously recommended as a penance, as an exercise, and as the most laudable means of securing their daily subsistence.\* The garden, and fields, which the industry of the monks had often rescued from the forest of the morass, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed, without reluctance, the menial offices of slaves and domestics; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their habits, their utensils, and their lodging, were exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries. The monastic studies have tended, for the most part, to thicken, rather than to dissipate, the cloud of superstition. Yet the curiosity or zeal of some learned solitaries has cultivated the ecclesiastical, and even the profane, sciences: and posterity must gratefully acknowledge, that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens.† But the more humble industry of the monks, especially in Egypt, was contented with the silent, seden-

\* The great history of ecclesiastical history, viz. P. Thomassin, *États des Églises*, tom. iii. p. 1086-1137, and viz. P. Mabillon, *Des Moines Monastiques*, tom. 3, p. 118-123, have accurately examined the ancient history of the monks, which the former describes as a sect, and the latter as a duty.

† Mabillon *Des Moines Monastiques*, tom. 3, p. 47-279 has collected many curious facts to justify the theory of the productivity of the monks. Such as the East and West. Books were copied in the greatest monasteries of Egypt, *Monast. Journal* 1. 11. c. 12, and by the disciples of St. Martin, *Idem* *Journal* vii. Martin. c. 7. p. 423. Constantine has collected an ample supply for the editors of the monks, and we shall yet be surprised, if their pen exerted would not have discovered and brought to light and to the

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 they, occupation, of making wooden sandals, or of twisting the leaves of the palm tree into mats and baskets. The superfluous stock, which was not consumed in domestic use, supplied, by trade, the wants of the community: the boats of Thebes, and the other monasteries of Thebais, descended the Nile as far as Alexandria: and, in a Christian market, the sanctity of the workmen might enhance the intrinsic value of the work.

But the necessity of manual labour was miserably suppressed. The monk was tempted to bestow his fortune on the saints, in whose society he was resolved to spend the remainder of his life: and the pernicious indulgence of the laws permitted him to receive, for their use, any future accretions of legacy or inheritance.\* Melania contributed her plate, three hundred pounds weight of silver; and Paula contracted an immense debt, for the relief of their favourite monks: who kindly imparted the merits of their prayers and penance to a rich and liberal sinner.† These continually increased, and accidents could seldom diminish, the estates of the popular monasteries, which spread over the ad-

\* *Théodore d'Épiphane de Cypre*, tom. iv. p. 116, 118, 119, 121, 122. He examined the freedom of the clergy, monks, and nuns, &c. Modern France borrows the death which monks have the right of inflicting, from early heretics, some of whom were of the right of inflicting.

† *A. de Juvénal*, tom. i. p. 176, 177. The monk Paulus made a public account to Melania, who wished to report the value of her gift — "Do you sell it to me, or to God? If to God, no other man shall be the owner of a subject, and you be informed of the weight of your gift." (*Pat. Hist. Liban. t. II. in the XI. century*, &c. p. 712.)

jacent country and cities: and, in the first century of their institution, the infidel Zosimus has maliciously observed, that, for the benefit of the poor, the Christian monks had reduced a great part of mankind to a state of beggary.<sup>1</sup> As long as they maintained their original fervour, they approved themselves, however, the faithful and benevolent stewards of the charity which was intrusted to their care. But their discipline was corrupted by prosperity: they gradually assumed the pride of wealth, and at last indulged the luxury of expence. Their public luxury might be excused by the magnificence of religious worship, and the decent motive of erecting durable habitations for an immortal society. But every age of the church has accused the licentiousness of the degenerate monks: who no longer remembered the object of their institution, embraced the vain and sensual pleasures of the world, which they had renounced,<sup>2</sup> and scandalously abused the riches which had been acquired by the austere virtues of their found-

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<sup>1</sup> *It must be kept in mind, however, that the monks were not always so much as they were called. Zosim. l. v. c. 223. For the monks of the fourth century were the opponents of the practice of penance in the foundation.*

<sup>2</sup> *The sixth general council (the Quiniscent in Venice, Canon 113), in Berkeley, tom. i. p. 225, declares against those monks who neglect their study, as well as a detestable, unchristian. The seventh general council (the second Nicene, Canon 14, in Berkeley, tom. i. p. 225) prohibits the wearing of double or gemmed ornaments of such sorts; but it speaks from Ballance, that the prohibition was not efficient. The sixteenth general council expressed the clergy and monks, and Thomaſius tom. III. p. 1234-1235.*

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continued

etc.<sup>1</sup> Their natural descent, from such painful and dangerous virtue, to the common vice of humanity, will not, perhaps, excite much grief or indignation in the mind of a philosopher.

These will  
their.

The lives of the primitive monks were consumed in penance and solitude; undisturbed by the various occupations which fill the time, and exercise the faculties, of reasonable, active, and social beings. Whenever they were permitted to step beyond the precincts of the monastery, two jealous companions were the mutual guards and spies of each other's actions: and, after their return, they were condemned to forget, or, at least, to suppress, whatever they had seen or heard in the world. Strangers, who professed the orthodox faith, were hospitably entertained in a separate apartment; but their dangerous conversation was restricted to some chosen elders of approved discretion and fidelity. Except in their presence, the monastic slave might not receive the visits of his friends or kindred: and it was deemed highly meritorious, if he afflicted a tender sister, or an aged parent, by the obstinate refusal of a word or look.<sup>2</sup> The monks themselves passed their lives, without personal

<sup>1</sup> I have somewhere heard or read the frank confession of a Persian devotee about—"My vow of poverty has given me no hundred things," and creating a *poor*; my vow of abstinence has raised me to the rank of a *strange* person." I forget the consequence of his vow of chastity.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, an Egyptian monk, showed his piety to his sister the day when his eyes failed for whole sight. See Vol. *Paradise*, l. 25. p. 124. Many such examples might be added.

attachments, among a crowd, which had been formed by accident, and was detained, in the same prison, by force or prejudice. Recluse fanatics have few ideas or sentiments to communicate; a special license of the abbot regulated the time and duration of their familiar visits; and, at their silent meals, they were enveloped in their cowls, inaccessible, and almost invisible, to each other.\* Study is the resource of solitude; but education had not prepared and qualified for any liberal studies the mechanics and peasants, who filled the monastic communities. They might work: but the vanity of spiritual perfection was tempted to disdain the exercise of manual labour; and the industry must be faint and languid, which is not excited by the sense of personal interest.

According to their faith and zeal, they might employ the day, which they passed in their cells, either in vocal or mental prayer: they assembled in the evening, and they were awakened in the night, for the public worship of the monastery. The precise moment was determined by the stars, which are seldom clouded in the serene sky of Egypt; and a rustic horn or trumpet, the signal of devotion, twice interrupted the vast silence of the desert.† Even sleep, the last refuge of the

These monks  
seldom slept  
alone.

\* The 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup>, and 31<sup>st</sup> of the Month of Pachon, being their religious days of abstinence and mortification.

† The diurnal and nocturnal prayers of the monks are regularly attended by Clodius in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> books of his *Itinerary*; and he constantly praises the society, which he enjoyed, and returned to the monasteries of Thebes.

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\*\*\*\*\*

unhappy, was rigorously measured; the vacant hours of the monk heavily rolled along, without business or pleasure; and before the close of each day, he had repeatedly reviewed the tedious progress of the sun.\* In this comfortless state, superstition still pursued and tormented her wretched votaries.† The repose which they had sought in the cloister was disturbed by timely repentance, profane doubts, and guilty desires; and, while they considered each natural impulse as an unpardonable sin, they perpetually trembled on the edge of a flaming and bottomless abyss. From the painful struggles of remorse and despair, these unhappy victims were sometimes relieved by madness or death; and, in the sixth century, one hospital was founded at Jerusalem for a small portion of the austere penitents, who were deprived of their senses.‡ Their visions, before they attained this extreme and acknowledged term of frenzy, have afforded ample materials of supernatural history. It was their firm persuasion, that

\* Cassian, from his own experience, describes the monk, as still, though in mind and body, as which a mind was exposed, when he sought to rest himself alone. *Capitulum septimum de lapidatione solitaria*, et ubi ubi solus sit monachus facilius perperamque moritur. *De vita solitaria*, lib. 1, c. 11.

† The propensities and inclinations of fragility were uncontrolled by this comfortable solitude in my friend Mr. Chesnut's, *The Monks of the West*, vol. 1, p. 167-171. Something similar illustrates the life of every saint, and his fervent tears, as Ignace, the disciple of the Jesus, (*Vita of Jesus as Companion*, vol. 1, p. 22, 26), may serve as a successful example.

‡ Pater, *Hist. Palæstinae*, tom. 1, p. 16. I have read somewhere, in the *Vita Patrum*, that I carried round the place, that ancient Chamberlains, of the monks, who did not reveal their sufferings to the other, because partly of justice.

the air which they breathed, was peopled with invisible enemies, with innumerable demons, who watched every motion, and assailed every form, to terrify, and above all to tempt, their unguarded virtue. The imagination, and even the senses, were deceived by the illusions of disordered fancy; and the hermit, whose midnight prayer was oppressed by involuntary slumber, might easily confound the phantoms of horror or delight, which had occupied his sleeping, and his waking, dreams.\*

The monks were divided into two classes: the *Cenobites*, who lived under a common, and regular, discipline; and the *Anachorites*, who indulged their unsocial, independent, fanaticism.† The most devout, or the most ambitious, of the spiritual brethren, renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were surrounded by a *Laura*,‡ a distant circle of solitary

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.....

The Cenobites and Anachorites.

\* See the seventh and eighth Chapters of *Palmyra*, the purely imaginary, and the fourth were given, but scarce and unimportant, under the name of St. Antony. Hieronymus's epistle to the Virgin Pulchra will exhibit not a variety of religious scenes. The words were from *Jerusalem* in a female dress.

† For the distinction of the *Cenobites* and the *Anachorites*, especially in Egypt, see *Isidore* (tom. 6. p. 44. ad *Monachos*) and the list of names of *Orthoglossus* (Hieronim. de *Vita* et *Vitiis* *Patrum*, l. 2. c. 8. 876.) *Palmyra*, c. 3, 10, in *Vitiis* *Patrum*, l. 2. c. 114. 125. and, above all, the *Hieroglyphic* and *Iconoclastic* Collections of *Palmyra*. These writers, who describe the customs, and outline the, around the aspect and images of the hermits.

‡ *Isidore* (Tom. 6. p. 44. ad *Monachos*, l. 2. c. 114. 125.) gives a good notion of these monks. When Constantine banished all idolatry, he did not banish the cult of *Palmyra*. It was not long after the Council of Nicaea (325) that the

CHAP. XXXVII. cells, and the extravagant penance of the hermits  
 was stimulated by upbraid and emulation.\* They  
 sunk under the painful weight of crosses and  
 chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined  
 by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and graves, of  
 mossy, and rigid, iron. All superfluous circum-  
 stance of dress they contemptuously cast away;  
 and some savage monks of both sexes have been  
 admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by  
 their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves  
 to the rude and miserable state in which the hu-  
 man brute is scarcely distinguished above his kin-  
 dred animals: and a numerous sect of anachorets  
 derived their name from their humble practice of  
 grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the  
 common herd.† They often usurped the den of  
 some wild beast which they affected to resemble;  
 they harked themselves in some gloomy cavern  
 which art or nature had scooped out of the rock;  
 and the marble quarries of Thebais are still in-  
 scribed with the monuments of their penance.\*  
 The most perfect hermits are supposed to have  
 passed many days without food, many nights  
 without sleep, and many years without speaking;

\* The desert, in a large volume, the *Thalassius* in Vol. *Patrolog.*  
 I. 2a, p. 285-400, has collected the lives and exercises of thirty an-  
 chorets. Gregory de Nyssa (l. 1. c. 12) traces boldly celebrated the monks and  
 hermits of Palestine.

\* *Desert*, l. 1. c. 22. The great St. Ephrem composed a sym-  
 bolical on those monks, or grazing cattle, a *Talassius*, *Mon.* *Scyth.*  
*Mon.* vol. p. 275.

\* The P. *Grand* (140 pages de *Lectures*, tom. 2a, p. 211-222) re-  
 counts the cruelties of the Lower Thebais with murder and devotion.  
 The descriptions are in the old Syrian character, which was read by  
 the Christians of Heliopolis.

and glorious was the man (I abuse that name) <sup>CHAP.</sup>  
who contrived my collar, or seat, of a peculiar <sup>XXXVII.</sup>  
construction, which might expose him, in the  
most disadvantageous posture, to the inclemency  
of the season.

Among these heroes of the monastic life, the name and genius of *Simon Stylites*\* have been immortalized by the singular invention of an aerial penance. At the age of thirteen, the young Syrian deserted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monastery. After a long and painful noviciate, in which Simon was repeatedly saved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a mountain about thirty or forty miles to the east of Antioch. Within the space of a *mandava*, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column, which was successively raised from the height of nine, to that of sixty, feet, from the ground.\* In this fast, and lofty, station, the Syrian anchoret resided the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters. Fasting and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect atti-

*Simon Stylites*,  
A. D. 285-311.

<sup>3</sup> See Mandelstam, *On V.I. Ponomarev*, 1, iv, p. 896-897; 1. *History of V.I. Ponomarev*, 1, 4, p. 316-317; 1. *Commentary on the Symposium "20 Years After"*, *Ann. d. p. Khim.* 25(2) 1979, p. 13, 14, no 87-88; 1. *Ann. d. p. Khim.* 25(2) 1979, p. 345-346.

<sup>3</sup> The average circumference of two tubules, on three feet, which I myself weighed for the content of this column, is commensurate with veins, with hairs, and with the type of acanthopores. The people who came in from India might be fairly deceived.

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[continued]

inde, with his out-stretched arms, in the figure of a cross: but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet; and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and sixty-four repetitions, at length desisted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh might shorten, but it could not disturb, this *edifying* life; and the patient hermit expired, without descending from his column. A prince who should capriciously inflict such tortures, would be deemed a tyrant: but it would surpass the power of a tyrant, to impose a long and miserable existence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty. This voluntary martyrdom must have gradually destroyed the sensibility both of the mind and body; nor can it be presumed that the fanatics, who torment themselves, are susceptible of any lively affection for the rest of mankind. A cruel unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country: their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the inquisition.

Struck  
and long-  
slay of the  
ghosts

The monastic taints, who excite only the contempt and pity of a philosopher, were respected, and almost adored, by the prince and people.

I have not traced a piece of imposture concerning the death of this saint. It has been reported, that the FRAIL, something we suppose from, at the last is, around the body, have a holy shield. The soul has hardly touch the foot, and then, when the moment of suffering this punishment on his heart!

Successive crowds of pilgrims from Gaul and India saluted the divine pillar of Simoon: the tribes of Samereus disputed in arms the honour of his benediction; the queens of Arabia and Persia gratefully confessed his supernatural virtues; and the angelic hermit was consulted by the younger Theodosius, in the most important concerns of the church and state. His remains were transported from the mountain of Telmisar, by a solemn procession of the patriarch, the master-general of the East, six bishops, twenty-one counts or tribunes, and six thousand soldiers; and Antioch revered his tomb, as her glorious ornament and impregnable defence. The fame of the apostles and martyrs was gradually eclipsed by these recent and popular anachorets; the Christian world fell prostrate before their shrines; and the miracles ascribed to their relics exceeded, at least in number and duration, the spiritual exploits of their lives. But the golden legend of their lives<sup>a</sup> was eroded by the artful credulity of their interested brethren; and a believing age was easily persuaded, that the slightest caprice of an Egyptian or a Syrian monk, had been sufficient to interrupt the eternal laws of the universe. The favourites of Heaven were accustomed to cure inveterate diseases with a touch, a word, or a

<sup>a</sup> I know not how to select or specify the slightest complaint in the *Four Fathers of the Desert*, as the number very much exceeds the limited pages of that celebrated work. An elegant specimen may be found in the *Diogenes* of *Epiphanius* *Beherens*, and his life of *St. Martin*. He accuses the monks of Egypt, for he usually treats with out respect, that they were used the child, whereas the taking of Taxes had ruined them and more to life.

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XXVII.

Representa-  
tion of the  
ages.

distant messenger and to expel the most obstinate demons from the seeds, or bodies, which they possessed. They familiarly ascended, or imperiously commanded, the lions and serpents of the desert; infused vegetation into a sapless trunk; suspended iron on the surface of the water; passed the Nile on the back of a crocodile, and refreshed themselves in a fiery furnace. These extravagant tales, which display the fictions, without the goings of poetry, have seriously affected the reason, the faith, and the morals, of the Christians. Their credulity delayed and vitiated the faculties of the mind; they corrupted the evidence of history; and superstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science. Every mode of religious worship which had been practised by the saints, every mysterious doctrine which they believed, was fortified by the sanction of divine revelation, and all the manly virtues were oppressed by the servile and pusillanimous reign of the monks. If it be possible to measure the interval between the philosophic writings of Cicero and the sacred legend of Theodoret, between the character of Cato and that of Simeon, we may appreciate the memorable revolution which was accomplished in the Roman empire within a period of five hundred years.

II. Con-  
tinuation  
of the  
Roman  
Empire.

II. The progress of Christianity has been marked by two glorious and decisive victories: over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman empire; and over the warlike barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the empire, and enfeebled the religion, of the Romans. The

Goths were the furthest of these savage prosc- CHAP.  
lytes; and the nation was indebted for its conver- XXVIII.  
sion to a countryman, or, at least, to a subject,  
worthy to be ranked among the inventors of use-  
ful arts, who have deserved the remembrance and  
gratitude of posterity. A great number of Ro-  
man provincials had been led away into captivity  
by the Gothic bands, who ravaged Asia in the  
time of Gallienus: and of these captives, many  
were Christians, and several belonged to the ec-  
clesiastical order. These involuntary missionaries,  
dispersed as slaves in the villages of Dacia, suc-  
cessively laboured for the salvation of their mas-  
ters. The seeds, which they planted, of the evan-  
gelic doctrine, were gradually propagated; and  
before the end of a century, the pious work was  
achieved by the labours of Ulfilas, whose an-  
cestors had been transported beyond the Danube  
from a small town of Cappadocia.

Ulfilas, the bishop and apostle of the Goths,\* Cyprian,  
bishop of  
Old Carthage,  
A. D. 250.  
87. acquired their love and reverence by his blameless  
life and indefatigable zeal; and they received,  
with implicit confidence, the doctrines of truth  
and virtue, which he preached and practised. He  
executed the arduous task of translating the Scrip-  
tures into their native tongue, a dialect of the  
German, or Teutonic, language: but he pru-  
dently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they  
might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary

\* On the subject of Ulfilas, and the conversion of the Goths, see Notknot, l. vi. c. 27; Isidorus, l. ix. c. 21; Theodoret, l. vi. c. 25; Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 8. The history of Eusebius (l. x. c. 33) is here given in a more accurate manner of transcription.

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 idiom of soldiers and shepherds, so ill qualified to communicate any spiritual ideas, was improved and modulated by his genius: and Ulphilas, before he could frame his version, was obliged to contrive a new alphabet of twenty-four letters; four of which he invented, to express the peculiar sounds that were unknown to the Greek, and Latin, pronunciation.\* But the prosperous state of the Gothic church was soon afflicted by war and intestine discord, and the christians were divided by religion as well as by interest. Frithigern, the friend of the Romans, became the proselyte of Ulphilas; while the haughty soul of Athamarc disdained the yoke of the empire, and of the Gospel. The faith of the new converts was tried by the persecution which he excited. A waggon, bearing about the shapeless image, of Thor, perhaps, or of Woden, was conducted in solemn procession through the streets of the camp; and the rebels, who refused to worship the God of their fathers, were immediately burnt, with their tents and families. The character of Ulphilas recommended him to the esteem of the eastern court, where he twice appeared as the minister of peace:

\* A manuscript copy of the first gospel, in the Gothic system, was published A. D. 1668, and is contained the most authentic testimony of the Gothic language, though Wessely suspects, by some trifling imperfections, to ascribe Ulphilas to the second of the work. Two of the four additional letters express the *H*, and not even *TH*. See Strick, *Ull. Catalogue des Manuscrits*, tome ii. p. 114. 115. M. Pichon, p. 141; add. Koster, *Wessely, Catalogue*, tom. i. p. 115.

he pleaded the cause of the distressed Goths, who implored the protection of Valens; and the name of *Moses* was applied to this spiritual guide, who conducted his people, through the deep waters of the Danube, to the Land of Promise.\* The devout shepherds, who were attached to his person, and tractable to his voice, acquiesced in their settlement, at the foot of the Masian mountains, in a country of woodlands and pastures, which supported their flocks and herds, and enabled them to purchase the corn and wine of the more plentiful provinces. These lawless barbarians multiplied in obscure peace, and the profession of Christianity.\*

Their Gothic brethren, the formidable Visigoths, universally adopted the religion of the Romans, with whom they maintained a perpetual intercourse of war, of friendship, or of conquest. In their long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean, they converted their allies; they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, on the coast of Thoulous, might easily, or disguise, the palaces of Home and Constantinople.

<sup>3</sup> I follow many economists who place this passage under the reign of Constantine, but I am much inclined to believe that it postdates the great conversion.

<sup>2</sup> We are grateful to Annette and Ruth Kutz in 51, p. 1989, for a short and lively picture of these brown birds. (with various popular comments, like the Florida brown prairie Wren). The last words, if there are not more pathology, (with some more of the same).

<sup>3</sup> Although its body has its Vandyke's mottle best described as brown, its mottled appearance is like parts quays noted. Wilson (1970) has been the only author to note this. Wilson (1970, p. 142).

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During the same period, Christianity was embraced by almost all the barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the western empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of mercenaries, that raised Odoacer to the throne of Italy. The Franks and the Saxons still persevered in the errors of paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the example of Clovis; and the Saxon conquerors of Britain were reclaimed from their savage superstition by the missionaries of Rome. These barbarian proselytes displayed an ardent and successful zeal in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings, and their successors, Charlemagne and the Otthos, extended, by their laws and victories, the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the evangelic light was gradually diffused from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic.<sup>b</sup>

Motives of  
their faith.

The different motives which influenced the reason, or the passions, of the barbarian converts, cannot easily be ascertained. They were often capricious and accidental; a dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest, or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and, above all, the fortunate event of a prayer, or vow,

<sup>b</sup> Haskins has slightly sketched the progress of Christianity in the North, from the seventh to the fourteenth century. The subject would afford materials for an interesting, and even poetical, history.

which, in a moment of danger, they had addressed to the God of the Christians? The early prejudices of education were immensely erased by the habits of frequent and familiar society; the moral precepts of the Gospel were protected by the extravagant virtues of the monks; and a spiritual theology was supported by the visible power of relics, and the pomp of religious worship. But the rational and ingenious mode of persuasion, which a Saxon bishop\* suggested to a popular saint, might sometimes be employed by the missionaries, who laboured for the conversion of infidels. "Admit," says the sagacious disputant, "whatever they are pleased to assert of the fabulous, and carnal, genealogy of their gods and goddesses, who are propagated from each other. From this principle deduce their imperfect nature, and human infirmities, the assurance they were born, and the probability that they will *die*. At what time, by what means, from what cause, were the eldest of the gods or goddesses produced? Do they still continue, or have they ceased, to propagate? If they have ceased, summon your antagonists to declare the reason of this strange alteration. If they still continue, the number of the gods

\* This is a most late doctrine (l. vii. c. 32) applied to the conversion of the Burgundians, whose Christian policy is introduced by Theodoric, l. vii. c. 19.

\* See an original and curious epistle from Odo, the last bishop of Winchester, (Odo, Hist. Eccles. Anglorum, l. v. c. 18, p. 200, edit. Baskin to St. Basilien, who preached the Gospel among the Saxons of Hesse and Thuringia. Epistol. Basilien. lxxv. in the Vatican Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. lxx. p. 92.

CHAP. " must become infinite; and shall we not risk, by  
 XXV. " the indiscreet worship of some impotent deity,  
 " to excite the resentment of his jealous superior?  
 " The visible heavens and earth, the whole system  
 " of the universe, which may be conceived by  
 " the mind, is it created or eternal? If created,  
 " how, or where, could the gods themselves exist  
 " before the creation? If eternal, how could they  
 " assume the empire of an independent and pre-  
 " existing world? Urge these arguments with  
 " temper and moderation; pronounce, at reason-  
 " able intervals, the truth, and beauty, of the  
 " Christian revelation; and endeavour to make  
 " the unbelievers ashamed, without making them  
 " angry." This metaphysical reasoning, too re-  
 fused perhaps for the barbarians of Germany, was  
 fortified by the greater weight of authority and  
 popular consent. The advantage of temporal pro-  
 sperity had deserted the pagan cause, and passed  
 over to the service of Christianity. The Romans  
 themselves, the most powerful and enlightened  
 nation of the globe, had renounced their ancient  
 superstitions; and, if the robe of their empire  
 seemed to wringe the efficacy of the new faith,  
 the disgrace was already retrieved by the conver-  
 sion of the victorious Goths. The valiant and for-  
 tunate barbarians, who subdued the provinces of  
 the West, successively received, and reflected, the  
 same edifying example. Before the age of Char-  
 lesmagne, the Christian nations of Europe might  
 exult in the exclusive possession of the temperate  
 climates, of the fertile lands, which produced

corn, wine, and oil; while the savage idolaters, and their helpless idols, were confined to the extremities of the earth, the dark and frozen regions of the North.\*

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Christianity, which opened the gates of Heaven to the barbarians, introduced an important change in their moral and political condition. They received, at the same time, the use of letters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book, and while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society. The version of the Scriptures into their native tongue, which had facilitated their conversion, next excited, among their clergy, some curiosity to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the church, and to examine, in the writings of the fathers, the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the inestimable monuments of ancient learning. The immortal productions of Virgil, Cicero, and Livy, which were accessible to the Christian barbarians, maintained a silent intercourse between the reign of Augustus, and the times of Clovis and Charlemagne. The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive, to warm and

Effects of  
Christianity.

\* The sword of Charlemagne added weight to the argument; but when Basil wrote this story, (A. D. 780,) the Mahomedans, who retained their idols in Spain, might have retorted it against the Christians.

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enlighten the mature age of the western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity, the barbarians might learn justice from the law, and mercy from the gospel: and if the knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions, or to regulate their passions; they were sometimes restrained by conscience, and frequently punished by remorse. But the direct authority of religion was less effectual, than the holy communion which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. The influence of these sentiments contributed to secure their fidelity in the service, or the alliance, of the Romans, to alleviate the horrors of war, to moderate the insolence of conquest, and to preserve, in the downfall of the empire, a permanent respect for the name and institutions of Rome. In the days of paganism, the priests of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people, and controuled the jurisdiction of the magistrates; and the zealous proselytes transferred an equal, or more ample, measure of devout obedience, to the pontiffs of the Christian faith. The sacred character of the bishops was supported by their temporal possessions: they obtained an honourable seat in the legislative assemblies of soldiers and freemen; and it was their interest, as well as their duty, to mollify, by peaceful counsels, the fierce spirit of the barbarians. The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of the Popes, cemented the union of the Christian republic; and gradually

produced the similar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have distinguished, from the rest of mankind, the independent, and even hostile, nations of modern Europe.

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But the operation of these causes was checked and retarded by the unfortunate accident, which infused a deadly poison into the cup of Salvation. Whatever might be the early sentiments of Ulphilas, his connections with the empire and the church were formed during the reign of Arianism. The apostle of the Goths subscribed the creed of Rimini, professed with freedom, and perhaps with sincerity, that the Son was not equal, or consubstantial, to the FATHER;<sup>1</sup> communicated these errors to the clergy and people; and infected the barbaric world with an heresy,<sup>2</sup> which the great Theodosius proscribed and extinguished among the Romans. The temper and understanding of the new proselytes were not adapted to metaphysical subtleties; but they strenuously maintained, what they had piously received, as the pure and genuine doctrines of Christianity. The advantage

<sup>10</sup> The ignorance of Alphonse and the Carles resulted in some attempts, since they would not say that the Fox was a creature. Although they held communion with those who maintained that theory. Their ignorance represented the whole controversy as a question of telling oneself, which had been raised by the presence of the story. *Thackeray*, I, vi, p. 21.

\* The treatment of the Kachas has been discussed in the previous section. — The paper found the justice of the same course, "and the people will stand out, and stand out." — *Review*, *Vol. 12*, p. 134. This great sentence is confirmed by Tatham, (*Mad. Kachas*, *Vol. 12*, p. 804-810), who fully declares, "in and in human nature, and the people will stand out, and stand out." — *Mad. Kachas*, *Vol. 12*, p. 134, 135, 136, and again in the same volume.

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of preaching and expounding the Scriptures in the Teutonic language, promoted the apostolic labours of Ulfilas and his successors; and they obtained a competent number of bishops and presbyters, for the instruction of the kindred tribes. The Ostrogoths, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Vandals, who had listened to the eloquence of the Latin clergy,\* preferred the more intelligible lessons of their domestic teachers; and Arianism was adopted as the national faith of the warlike converts, who were seated on the ruins of the western empire. This irreconcilable difference of religion was a perpetual source of jealousy and hatred; and the reproach of barbarism was embittered by the more odious epithet of *heretic*. The heroes of the North, who had submitted, with some reluctance, to believe that all their ancestors were in hell,† were astonished and exasperated to learn, that they themselves had only changed the mode of their eternal condemnation. Instead of the smooth obedience, which Christian kings are accustomed to expect from their loyal prelates, the orthodox bishops and their clergy were in a state of opposition to the Arian courts; and their indiscreet opposition frequently became criminal, and might sometimes be dangerous.‡ The pulpit,

\* *Armenian authors*, at the first A.D. 415, c. 1, p. 100. But the mission of Ulfilas and his disciples was filled with Huns, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians.

† *Radbod*, king of the Frisians, paid so much uneasiness by this new declaration of a missionary, that he threw away his life, after he had refused the baptismal bath. See *Florus Hist. Roman.* book 16, p. 122.

‡ The bishops of Ireland, bishops of Clermont, under the Visigoths, and of Arles, bishop of Chartres, under the Burgundians, expressed

that safe and sacred organ of sedition, resounded with the names of Phaulx and Hulofernes; the public discontent was inflamed by the hope or promise of a glorious deliverance; and the seditious souls were tempted to promote the accomplishment of their own predilections. Notwithstanding these provocations, the enthu-  
General  
theatrical  
 siasms of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, enjoyed, under the reign of the Arius, the free, and peaceful, exercise of their religion. Their haughty masters respected the zeal of a numerous people, resolved to die at the foot of their altars; and the example of their devout constancy was admired and imitated by the barbarians themselves. The emperors avoided, however, the disgraceful reproach, or confession, of fear, by attributing their toleration to the liberal motives of clemency and humanity; and while they affected the language, they imperceptibly insinuated the spirit, of genuine Christianity.

The peace of the church was sometimes interrupted. The catholics were indignant, the barbarians were impatient; and the partial acts of severity or injustice which had been recommended by the Arian clergy, were exaggerated by the orthodox writers. The guilt of persecution may be imputed to Euric, king of the Visigoths; who suspended the exercise of ecclesiastical, or, at least, of episcopal functions; and punished the popular

Arian persecution of the Visigoths.

original, mentioned in Art. XIII. the general suspension of the catholics. The history of these and Theodoric will suggest some particulars more.

1. See also the account of the council, at the assembly with which he presided such authority attended. Varior. Varior. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

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Gregory,  
A. D. 426.  
475.

Humero,  
A. D. 477.

bishops of Aquitain with imprisonment, exile, and confiscation.\* But the cruel and absurd enterprise of subduing the minds of a whole people, was undertaken by the Vandals alone. Genseric himself, in his early youth, had renounced the orthodox communion; and the apostate could neither grant, nor expect, a sincere forgiveness. He was exasperated to find, that the Africans, who had fled before him in the field, still presumed to dispute his will in synods and churches; and his ferocious mind was incapable of fear, or of compassion. His catholic subjects were oppressed by intolerant laws, and arbitrary punishments. The language of Genseric was furious and formidable; the knowledge of his intentions might justify the most unfavourable interpretation of his actions; and the Arians were reproached with the frequent executions, which stained the palace, and the dominions, of the tyrant. Arms and ambition were, however, the ruling passions of the monarch of the sea. But Huneric, his inglorious son, who seemed to inherit only his vices, tormented the catholics with the same unrelenting fury which had been fatal to his brother, his nephews, and the friends and favourites of his father: and, even to the Arian patriarch, who was inhumanly burnt alive in the midst of Carthage.

\* Such are the contemporary complaints of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, II. vii. c. 11, p. 162, &c. 163. Hieronymus, Gregory of Tours, who quote Hic Episcopus, (I. II. c. 22; see note II. p. 178), relate an extraordinary number, that of the place whence in Aquitaine, were but just produced by episcopal martyrdom.

The religious war was preceded and prepared by an insidious tract; persecution was made the serious and important business of the Vandal court; and the loathsome disease, which hastened the death of Huneric, retrograded the injuries, without contributing to the deliverance of the church. The throne of Africa was successively filled by the two nephews of Huneric; by Gundamund, who reigned about twelve, and by Thrasimund, who governed the nation above twenty-seven years. Their administration was hostile and oppressive to the orthodox party. Gundamund appeared to emulate, or even to surpass, the cruelty of his uncle; and, if at length he relented, if he recalled the biddings, and restored the freedom of Athanasian worship, a premature death intercepted the benefits of his tardy clemency. His brother, Thrasimund, was the greatest and most accomplished of the Vandal kings, whom he excelled in beauty, prudence, and magnanimity of soul. But this magnificent character was degraded by his intolerant zeal and deceitful clemency. Instead of threats and tortures, he employed the gentle, but efficacious, powers of seduction. Wealth, dignity, and the royal favour, were the liberal rewards of apostasy; the catholics, who had violated the law, might purchase their pardon by the renunciation of their faith: and whenever Thrasimund meditated any rigorous measure, he patiently waited till the indiscretion of his adversaries furnished him with a specious opportunity. Bigotry was his last sentiment in the hour of death: and he

CH. II.  
XXXVII.  
Gundamund.

Conte.  
A. D. 484.

Thrasimund.  
A. D. 494.

CHAP. XXXII.  
 Hilderic.  
 A. D. 528.  
 Calicut.  
 A. D. 528.  
 started from his successor a solemn oath, that he would never tolerate the sectaries of Athanasius. But his successor, Hilderic, the gentle son of the savage Thauric, preferred the duties of humanity and justice, to the vain obligation of an impious oath: and his accession was gloriously marked by the restoration of peace and universal freedom. The throne of that virtuous, though feeble, monarch, was usurped by his cousin Gelimer, a valiant Armer; but the Vandal kingdom, before he could enjoy or abuse his power, was subverted by the arms of Belisarius; and the orthodox party retulated the injuries which they had endured.\*

A general  
 view of the  
 persecution  
 in Africa.

The passionate declamations of the catholics, the sole historians of this persecution, cannot afford any distinct series of causes and events; any impartial view of characters, or counsels; but the most remarkable circumstances, that deserve either credit or notice, may be referred to the following heads.—I. In the original law, which is still extant, Thauric expressly de-

\* The original instruments of the Vandal persecution are preserved in the two books of the History of Victor Vitensis, (de Persecutione Vandalica), a bishop who was exiled by Thauric; in the Life of St. Fulgentius, who was distinguished in the persecution of Thauric; in the History of Max. Perpetuus, tom. ix. p. 425a. and in the first book of the Vandalic War, by the Imperial Praepositus, in P. B. v. 176. 182. 189. 190. Oros. History, the last volume of Victor, has discussed the subject, and has with a copious and happy apparatus of facts and arguments. (P. 134.)

† Victor, iv. 1. p. 84. Thauric issued the laws of authority to the *Protestantes*.—*Reprehensio*, as the good Thauric Majestatis imperialis, his own party, who persecuted the faith, mentioned by name that a thousand bishops, in the records of Rome and Africa.

clares, and the declaration appears to be correct, that he had faithfully transcribed the regulations and penalties of the imperial edicts; against the heretical congregations, the clergy, and the people, who deserted from the established religion. If the rights of conscience had been understood, the catholics must have condemned their past conduct, or acquiesced in their actual sufferings. But they still persisted to refuse the indulgence which they claimed. While they trembled under the lash of persecution, they praised the dreadful severity of Himeric himself, who burnt or banished great numbers of Arians;<sup>a</sup> and they rejected, with horror, the ignominious compromise, that the disciples of Arius, and of Athanasius, should enjoy a reciprocal and similar toleration in the territories of the Romans, and in those of the Vandals.<sup>b</sup> II. The practice of a conference, which the catholics had so frequently used to insult and punish their obstinate antagonists, was retorted against themselves.<sup>c</sup> At the command of Himeric, four hundred and sixty-six orthodox bishops assembled at Carthage; but when they were ad-

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<sup>a</sup> Vetus. H. l. 1. p. 23, 24. *Excommunicati . . . exheredati.* In the MSS. which I have read, the passage is unintelligible. See Ruffinus Hist. p. 124.

<sup>b</sup> Vetus. H. l. 1. p. 25, 26. The clergy of Carthage called those excommunicate, perishing, and they were, indeed, to have been punished in a manner by which the orthodox bishops.

<sup>c</sup> See the narrative of this conference, and the writings of the bishops, in Vetus. H. l. 1. p. 25-42, and the whole fourth book, p. 42-111. The third book, p. 42-44, is entirely shut by their synod, or conference of 422.

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 mitted into the hall of audience, they had the mortification of beholding the Arian Council exalted on the patriarchal throne. The disputants were separated, after the usual and ordinary reproaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipitation, of military force and of popular clamour. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the catholic bishops: twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity: forty-six were sent into Corsica to cut timber for the royal navy: and three hundred and two were banished to the different parts of Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life.\* The hardships of ten years' exile must have reduced their numbers: and if they had complied with the law of *Thersimul*, which prohibited any episcopal consecrations, the orthodox church of Africa must have expired with the lives of its actual members. They disobeyed; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardinia: where they languished fifteen years, till the accession of the gracious Hilderic.† The two islands were judi-

\* See the list of the catholic bishops, in Valler, p. 111-110. and Bower's notes, p. 114-117. The schismatic name of *Thersimul* frequently occurs, and they appear to have thought that was sufficient of the list kept the peace as witnesses of *Constantine*, *Augustus*, *Quadratus*, *Arrian*, *Melchior*, &c.

† Volgent, Vol. i. 14-15. The emperor affected the guise of mildness and mercy; and Volgentius addressed three books of consolation to the Arian system, which he styles *præsentia* *Dei*. — *Blumenhagen*.

ciously chosen by the pulcr of their Arian tyrants. Seneca, from his own experience, has deplored and exaggerated the miserable state of Corsica,\* and the plenty of Sardinia was overbalanced by the unwholesome quality of the air.<sup>†</sup> III. The zeal of Genseric, and his successors, for the conversion of the catholics, must have rendered them still more jealous to guard the purity of the Vandal faith. Before the churches were finally shut, it was a crime to appear in a barbarian dress; and those who presumed to neglect the royal mandate, were rudely dragged backwards by their long hair.<sup>‡</sup> The palatine officers, who refused to profess the religion of their prince, were ignominiously stripped of their honours and employments; banished to Sardinia and Sicily; or condemned to the servile labours of slaves and peasants in the fields of Utica. In the districts which had been peculiarly allotted to the Vandals, the exercise of the catholic worship was more strictly prohibited; and severe penal-

*Maxim. Tyrus*, tom. 14. p. 81. Only sixty bishops are mentioned as slain in the life of *Fulgentius*; they are increased to one hundred and twenty by Victor *Trutsemann*, and *Isidore*; but the number of two hundred and twenty is specified in the *Historia Alana*, and a chief authentic chronicle of the time. See *Isidore*, p. 176. 371.

\* See the law and torpid epigrams of the poets, who would not compare with more fortunate lives than his. *Carmina* relate not *proventus* wars, wine, or silk; but it could not be destitute of grain, water, and bread &c.

† *De gradatione et de intermitten*, p. 100. *Tacit. Annal.* 4, 84. In this application, *Thalassius* would have adopted the reading of some critics, *ut* *Thalassius*.

‡ See these passages of a general persecution, in *Victor*, 1, 2, 4, 5, and the two edicts of *Himerius*, 1, 16 p. 22; 1, 16, p. 24.

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ties were denounced against the guilty; both of the missionary, and the proselyte. By those arts, the faith of the barbarians was preserved, and their zeal was inflamed; they discharged, with devout fury, the office of spies, informers, or executioners; and whenever their cavalry took the field, it was the favourite amusement of the march, to defile the churches, and to insult the clergy of the adverse faction.<sup>a</sup> IV. The citizens who had been educated in the luxury of the Roman province, were delivered, with exquisite cruelty, to the Moors of the desert. A venerable train of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with a faithful crowd of four thousand and ninety-six persons, whose guilt is not precisely ascertained, were torn from their native homes, by the command of Huneric. During the night, they were confined, like a herd of cattle, amidst their own ordure: during the day they pursued their march over the burning sands; and if they fainted under the heat and fatigue, they were goaded, or dragged along, till they expired in the hands of their tormentors. These unhappy exiles, when they reached the Moorish lands, might excite the compassion of a people, whose native humanity was neither improved by reason, nor corrupted by fanaticism: but if they escaped the dangers, they were condemned to

<sup>a</sup> See *Principes de l'Hist. Vandale*, l. iv. c. 7, p. 191, 196. A Moorish prince undertaken to purgify the foot of the Chersonese, by his dog, against the tracks of the Vandal exiles.

<sup>b</sup> See this story in *Vares*, l. ii. c. 12, p. 23, 24. *Vares* mentions the distress of these exiles—*et in epe videtur*.

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*De Cruentis*

share the distress, of a savage life. V. It is incumbent on the authors of persecution previously to reflect, whether they are determined to support it to the last extremity. They excite the flame which they strive to extinguish; and it soon becomes necessary to ratchet the continuance, as well as the crime, of the offender. The fine, which he is unable or unwilling to discharge, exposes his person to the severity of the law; and his contempt of lighter penalties suggests the use and propriety of capital punishment. Through the veil of fiction and declamation, we may clearly perceive, that the catholics, were especially under the reign of Hadradius, endured the most cruel and ignominious treatment.<sup>1</sup> Respectable citizens, noble matrons, and consecrated virgins, were stripped naked, and raised in the air by pulleys, with a weight suspended at their feet. In this painful attitude their naked bodies were torn with scourges, or lacerated in the most tender parts with red hot plates of iron. The amputation of the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the right hand, was inflicted by the Arians; and although the precise number cannot be defined, it is evident that many persons, among whom a bishop<sup>2</sup> and a provincial<sup>3</sup> may be named,

<sup>1</sup> See the title book of Victor. His passions tempered by restraint by the sober testimony of Tacitus, and the public violence of the emperor Tiberius. *Roll. l. 2. c. 1. c. 2.*

<sup>2</sup> Victor. *l. 18. p. 41.*

<sup>3</sup> Victor. *l. 4. p. 14. 15.* His name was Victorinus, and he was a faithful friend of Antoninus, who enjoyed the confidence of the Arians; by whose favour he had obtained the office, or at least the title, of Provincial of Africa.

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were entitled to the crown of martyrdom. The same honour has been ascribed to the memory of Count Sebastian, who professed the Nicene creed with unshaken constancy; and Genseric might detest, as an heretic, the brave and ambitious fugitive whom he dreaded as a rival.\* VI. A new mode of conversion, which might subdue the feeble, and alarm the timorous, was employed by the Arian ministers. They imposed, by fraud or violence, the rite of baptism; and punished the apostasy of the catholics, if they disclaimed this odious and profane ceremony, which scandalously violated the freedom of the will, and the unity of the sacrament.<sup>†</sup> The hostile sects had formerly allowed the validity of each other's baptism; and the innovation, so fiercely maintained by the Vandals, can be imputed only to the example and advice of the Donatists. VII. The Arian clergy surpassed, in religious cruelty, the king and his Vandals; but they were incapable of cultivating the spiritual vineyard, which they were so desirous to possess. A patriarch<sup>‡</sup> might seat himself on the throne of Carthage; waste bishops, in the principal cities, might usurp the place of their rivals; but

\* Valer. L. 8, p. 8. 6. After relating the first resistance and destruction of Count Sebastian, he adds, *perit ille sanctis negotiorum suorum bellumque ceteris populo.*

† Valer. i. 12, 12. *Interdixit. Mox, Rursum, iter, &c.* p. 697.

‡ *Proper* was more properly the title of the bishop of Carthage; but the name of primate was given by the world and nations to those prelate's jurisdiction. See Tappolet, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tome iv. p. 166, 178.

the smallness of their numbers, and their ignorance of the Latin language,\* disqualified the barbarians for the ecclesiastical ministry of a great church; and the Africans, after the loss of their orthodox pastors, were deprived of the public exercise of Christianity. VIII. The emperors were the natural protectors of the Homœusian doctrine: and the faithful people of Africa, both as Romans and as catholicks, preferred their lawful sovereignty to the usurpation of the barbarous heretics. During an interval of peace and friendship, Hunneric restored the cathedral of Carthage; at the intercession of Zeno, who reigned in the East, and of Placidia, the daughter and relict of emperors, and the sister of the queen of the Vandals.<sup>c</sup> But this decent regard was of short duration; and the haughty tyrant displayed his contempt for the religion of the empire, by studiously arranging the bloody images of persecution, in all the principal streets through which the Roman ambassador must pass in his way to the palace.<sup>d</sup> An oath was requested from the bishops, who were assembled at Carthage, that they would support the succession of his son Hilderic, and that

\* The patriarch Cyril himself publicly declared, that he did not understand Latin, (Victor. v, 18, p. 86); Novat's Letters; and the slight converse with tolerable ease, without being sensible of disputing or preaching in that language. His Vandals always were still more ignorant; and small confidence could be placed in the Africans, who had converted.

<sup>a</sup> Victor. v, l. 2, p. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Victor. v, 2, p. 71. He appeals to the ambassador himself, whose name was Ulimer.

CHAP. XXXVII. they would renounce all foreign or *botaniquarum* correspondence. This engagement, consistent as it should seem with their moral and religious duties, was refused by the more sagacious members\* of the assembly. Their refusal, faintly coloured by the pretence that it is unlawful for a Christian to swear, must provoke the suspicions of a jealous tyrant.

Calliope  
Sabbas,

The catholics, oppressed by royal and military force, were far superior to their adversaries in numbers and learning. With the same weapons which the Greek and Latin fathers had already provided for the Arian controversy, they repeatedly silenced, or vanquished, the fierce and illiterate successors of Ulphilus. The consciousness of their own superiority might have raised them above the arts, and passions, of religious warfare. Yet, instead of assuming such honourable pride, the orthodox theologians were tempted, by the assurance of impunity, to compose fictions, which must be stigmatized with the epithets of fraud and forgery. They ascribed their own polemical works to the most venerable names of Christian antiquity; the characters of Athanasius

\* Athanasius, *Vita* 31, 4, p. 70. He plainly intimates that this spectacle of the Gospel, "*Nam parvulus in manu*," was only named to shade the illegality of an inhuman oath. The heretic bishops who refused were banished to Corsica; the three hundred and two who swore, were distributed through the provinces of Africa.

\* Pappus, bishop of Hesperia, in the Byzantine province, was of a noble family, and had received a liberal education. He could speak all Homer and Menander before he was allowed to study Latin, his native tongue (*Vita Pappi*, c. 12). Many Arian bishops might understand Greek, and many Greek theologians were translated into Latin.

and Augustin were awkwardly perverted by Vigilinus and his disciples;<sup>6</sup> and the famous creed, which so clearly expounds the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, is deduced, with strong probability, from this African school? Even the Scriptures themselves were profaned by their rash and sacrilegious hands. The memorable text, which asserts the unity of the THREE who bear witness in Heaven,<sup>7</sup> is condemned by the universal silence of the orthodox fathers, ancient versions, and authentic manuscripts.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Compare the two passages in the Dialogue of Vigilinus at Triques, pp. 118, 119, with C. 8. c. 1. The eight verses are inserted under the Antiochian heading, but the subject was too gross, and the Antiochians too ignorant.

<sup>7</sup> The V. Quenest started this opinion, which has been generally received. But the three following truths, however surprising they may seem, are now universally acknowledged, (Goussier Traité, tom. ii, p. 516-522. Filastour, Mém. Revue, tom. xii, p. 671-671). 1. St. Athanasius is not the author of the creed which is so frequently read in our churches. 2. It does not appear to have existed, within a century after his death. 3. It was originally composed in the Latin tongue, and, consequently, in the western provinces. Remondin, patriarch of Constantinople, was at once alarmed by this extraordinary composition, that he finally pronounced it to be the work of a drunken man. Peter Daguat, Traité, tom. ii, l. vii, c. 8, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> I. Euseb, c. 2. See Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, part 1, n. viii, p. 204-218; and part 2, n. iv, p. 89-111; and the curious Préface and Annotations of Dr. MSS. and Wadding to their edition of the Greek Testament. In 1689, the famous Simon chose to be there. In 1717, the gentleman M. de la Roche (in 1741, the Antiochian Warden) read the history of his times, and of his work.

<sup>9</sup> All the MSS. now extant, were discovered in number, some of which are sometimes 1200 years old, (Wadding p. 20.) the original copies of the Vulgate, of the Complutensian edition of Robert Stephens, are become scarce; and the two MSS. of Beza and Beza

CHAP. XXVII. It was first alleged by the catholic bishops when Hummeric summoned to the conference of Carthage.<sup>5</sup> An allegorical interpretation, in the form, perhaps, of a marginal note, invaded the text of the Latin bibles, which were renewed and corrected in a dark period of ten centuries.<sup>6</sup> After the invention of printing,<sup>7</sup> the editors of the Greek Testament yielded to their own prejudices, or to those of the times;<sup>8</sup> and the pious fraud, which was embraced with equal zeal at Rome and at Geneva, has been infinitely mul-

are similarly to such an exception. See Baily's *Watts*, vol. ii. p. 177-222, 298-299; and H. de Masi's *longueurs latines*, to him. vii and ix of the *Journal Britannique*.

<sup>5</sup> Or, more properly, by the five bishops who composed and published the profession of faith to the signs of their brethren. They style this text, *longueurs* (Vetus Vetus de Perpetua, Vetus. i. c. 111, p. 216). It is quoted also afterwards by the African polemic, Vigilius and Fulgentius.

<sup>6</sup> In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the bibles were corrected by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Norbal, a cardinal and abbot of the Roman church, separate collections of them. (Warton, *Prolegomena* p. 84, 85). Norwichester's last correction, the pump is still waiting in the original Latin MS. (Glossary of 160), the office and the altar; and a question without answer, story in manuscript.

<sup>7</sup> The art which the Germans had learned was applied in Italy to the printing of books of Bible and Greek. The original Greek of the New Testament was printed about the same time (A. D. 1514, 1516, 1520) by the industry of Erasmus and the munificence of Cardinal Ximenes. The Complutensian *Prolegomena* and the *original* 50,000 copies. See *Masters' Annals*, *Typographia*, vol. ii. p. 2-2. 125, 126; and Warton, *Prolegomena*, p. 116-117.

<sup>8</sup> The three versions have been established by the Greek Testament by the president of Erasmus, the seven letters of the Complutensian edition; the typographical hand, or script, of Robert Stephens is the placing a printed; and the Coleridge's *Scripture*, or *strong misapprehension*, of Theodorus Beza.

spread in every country and every language of modern Europe. CHAP. XXXVII.

The example of fraud must excite suspicion: and the specious miracles by which the African catholics have defended the truth and justice of their cause, may be ascribed, with more reason, to their own industry, than to the visible protection of Heaven. Yet the historian, who views this religious conflict with an impartial eye, may condescend to mention one preternatural event, which will edify the devout, and surprise the incredulous. Tipasa,<sup>1</sup> a maritime colony of Mauritania, sixteen miles to the east of Caesarea, had been distinguished, in every age, by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They had braved the fury of the Donatists;<sup>2</sup> they resisted, or eluded, the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deserted on the approach of an heretical bishop: most of the inhabitants who could procure ships passed over to the coast of Spain; and the unhappy remnant, refusing all communion with the usurper, still presumed to hold their pious, but illegal, assemblies. Their disobedience exasperated the cruelty of Hunneric. A military count was despatched from Carthage to Tipasa; he collected the catholics in the Forum, and, in the presence of the whole province, de-

<sup>1</sup> *Plin. Hist. Natural. v. 1. Hispan. Wynsling, p. 14. Colation. Geograph. Anst. tom. 2. part 2. p. 137.* This Tipasa which must not be confounded with another in Numidia was a town of some note. Strabo Vespasian followed it with the sight of Lucan.

<sup>2</sup> *Optatus Milevitanus de Schism. Donatist. l. 2. p. 28.*

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CONTINUED

prived the guilty of their right hands and their tongues. But the holy confessors continued to speak without tongues; and this miracle is attested by Victor, an African bishop, who published an history of the persecution within two years after the event.<sup>1</sup> "If any one," says Victor, "should doubt of the truth, let him repair to Constantinople, and listen to the clear and perfect language of Restitutus, the subdeacon, one of these glorious sufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the emperor Zeno, and is respected by the devout empress." At Constantinople we are astonished to find a cool, a learned, and unexceptionable witness, without interest, and without passion. Euseb. of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, has accurately described his own observations on these African sufferers. "I saw them myself: I heard them speak: I diligently inquired by what means such an articulate voice could be formed without any organ of speech: I used my eyes to examine the report of my ears: I opened their mouth, and saw that the whole tongue had been completely torn away by the roots: an operation which the physicians generally suppose to be mortal." The testimony of Euseb. of Gaza

<sup>1</sup> Victor Vitensis, *l. c.*, p. 16. Bunsen, p. 483-484.

<sup>2</sup> *Strom. Georgii de Theophrasto in Aristotelis Physicis, tom. vii. p. 484, 485.* He traces Chrysostom, and compares the Dialogue the Theophrastus on the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; touching every-where Epictetus, and Iamblich. See Cave, *Hist. Literaria*, p. 227, and Pausanias, *Ibid.* Græc. tom. 6, p. 427.

might be confirmed by the superfluous evidence of the emperor Justinian, in a perpetual edict; of Count Marcellinus, in his Chronicle of the times; and of Pope Gregory I. who had resided at Constantinople, as the minister of the Roman pontiff.<sup>1</sup> They all lived within the compass of a century; and they all appeal to their personal knowledge, or the public notoriety, for the truth of a miracle, which was repeated in several instances, displayed on the greatest theatre of the world, and submitted, during a series of years, to the calm examination of the senses. This supernatural gift of the African confessors, who spoke without tongues, will command the assent of those, and of those only, who already believe that their language was pure and orthodox. But the stubborn mind of an infidel is guarded by secret, incurable, suspicion; and the Arian, or Socinian, who has seriously rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, will not be shaken by the most plausible evidence of an Athanasian miracle.

CHAP.  
XXXVII.

The Vandals and the Ostrogoths persevered in the profession of Arianism till the final ruin of the kingdoms which they had founded in Africa and Italy. The barbarians of Gaul submitted to the

The ruin  
of Arian-  
ism.

among the  
Inhabitants,  
A. D. 501.  
100.

<sup>1</sup> Justinian, *Digest*, l. i, tit. 1. c. 1. Marcellinus in Chron. p. 44, in Thoma. Temporibus Scytharum. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 1, p. 104. Gregory, *Magna History*, c. 32. None of these witnesses have specified the number of the confessions, which is fixed at sixty in our old ecclesiastical, (quod Bede, p. 660). Two of them bear their oath by Irenæus; but the miracle is attested by the frequent testimony of a boy who had never spoken before he began, was 124

CHAP. orthodox dominion of the Franks; and Spain was  
XXXVII. restored to the catholic church by the voluntary  
conversion of the Visigoths.

Reign  
and mar-  
tyrdom of  
Hermenegild in  
Spain,  
A. D. 571.  
181.

This salutary revolution<sup>1</sup> was hastened by the example of a royal martyr, whom our calmer reason may style an ungrateful rebel. Leovigild, the Gothic monarch of Spain, deserved the respect of his enemies, and the love of his subjects; the catholics enjoyed a free toleration; and his Arian synods attempted, without much success, to reconcile their scruples by abolishing the unpopular rite of a second baptism. His eldest son Hermenegild, who was invested by his father with the royal diadem, and the fair principality of Barchina, contracted an honourable and orthodox alliance with a Merovingian princess, the daughter of Sigibert, king of Austrasia, and of the famous Brunchild. The beautiful Ingundis, who was no more than thirteen years of age, was received, beloved, and persecuted, in the Arian court of Toledo; and her religious constancy was alternately assuaged with blandishments and violence by Golsvintha, the Gothic queen, who aloned the double claim of maternal authority.<sup>2</sup> Incensed by her resistance, Gols-

<sup>1</sup> See the very general histories of Spain, Mariana (*Hist. de España* Universal, tom. 1. l. vi. c. 12-14, p. 175-184), and Ferreras, (*Estado de España*, tom. 8, p. 292-347). Mariana almost forgets that he is a Jesuit, to assume the style and spirit of a Roman citizen. Ferreras, an insatiable compiler, restores his Gothic, and revises his chronology.

<sup>2</sup> Golsvintha successively married two kings of the Visigoths: Athanagild, to whom she bore Brunchild, the mother of Ingundis; and

vintha seized the catholic princess by her long hair, inhumanly dashed her against the ground, kicked her till she was covered with blood, and at last gave orders that she should be stripped, and thrown into a prison or fish-pond.<sup>a</sup> Love and honour might excite Hermenegild to resent this injurious treatment of his bride; and he was gradually persuaded that Iagundis suffered for the cause of divine truth. Her tender complaints, and the weighty arguments of Leander, archbishop of Seville, accomplished his conversion; and the heir of the Gothic monarchy was initiated in the Nicene faith by the solemn rites of confirmation.<sup>b</sup> The rash youth, inflamed by zeal, and perhaps by ambition, was tempted to violate the duties of a son, and a subject: and the catholics of Spain, although they could not complain of persecution, applauded his pious rebellion against an heretical father. The civil war was protracted by the long and obstinate sieges of Merida, Cordova, and Seville, which had strenuously espoused the party of Hermenegild. He invited the orthodox barbarians, the Sueri, and

and Liuvigild, whose son was Hermenegild and Reccard, were the issue of a former marriage.

<sup>a</sup> *Isauricus furor regum, adque omnis per eorum regis populum in terram caecitas, et in calidum verticillum, et sanguis revolutus, jussu expulsi et plures interitus.* Greg. Turon. l. v. c. 39, in tom. ii. p. 323. Gregory is one of our best originals for this period of history.

<sup>b</sup> The catholics who admitted the legions of Isaurus, repented the war, as, as it was afterwards styled, the sacrament of confirmation, to which they ascribed many mystic and mysterious prerogatives, both visible and invisible. See Quarten, *Hist. des Visigoths*, tom. i. p. 493-497.

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 the Franks, to the destruction of his native land: he solicited the dangerous aid of the Romans, who possessed Africa, and a part of the Spanish coast; and his holy ambassador, the archbishop Leander, effectually negotiated in person with the Byzantine court. But the hopes of the Catholics were crushed by the active diligence of a monarch who commanded the troops and treasures of Spain; and the guilty Hermenegild, after his vain attempts to resist or to escape, was compelled to surrender himself into the hands of an incensed father. Leovigild was still mindful of that sacred character; and the rebel, despoiled of the regal ornaments, was still permitted, in a decent exile, to profess the catholic religion. His repeated and unsuccessful treasons at length provoked the indignation of the Gothic king; and the sentence of death, which he pronounced with apparent reluctance, was privately executed in the tower of Seville. The inflexible constancy with which he refused to accept the Arian communion, as the price of his safety, may excuse the honours that have been paid to the memory of St. Hermenegild. His wife and infant son were detained by the Romans in ignominious captivity; and this domestic misfortune tarnished the glories of Leovigild, and embittered the last moments of his life.

Conversion  
 of Hermenegild  
 and the  
 Visigoths  
 of Spain.  
 A. D. 589.  
 148.

His son and successor, Reccared, the first catholic king of Spain, had imbibed the faith of his unfortunate brother, which he supported with more prudence and success. Instead of revolting

against his father, Recared patiently expected the hour of his death. Instead of condemning his memory, he piously supposed, that the dying monarch had alleged the errors of Arianism, and recommended to his son the conversion of the Gothic nation. To accomplish that salutary end, Recared convened an assembly of the Arian clergy and nobles, declared himself a catholic, and exhorted them to imitate the example of their prince. The laborious interpretation of doubtful texts, or the curious pursuit of metaphysical arguments, would have excited an endless controversy; and the monarch discreetly proposed to his illiterate audience two substantial and visible arguments, the testimony of *Earth*, and of *Heaven*. The *Earth* had submitted to the Nicene synod: the Romans, the barbarians, and the inhabitants of Spain, unanimously professed the same orthodox creed; and the Visigoths resisted, almost alone, the consent of the Christian world. A superstitious age was prepared to reverence, as the testimony of *Heaven*, the preternatural cures, which were performed by the skill or virtue of the catholic clergy; the baptismal fonts of Oset in Bœtica,\* which were spontaneously replenished

\* Oset, or Euxa Constantia, was supposed to be built, on the north-western side of the Bæta, (Pitt. Hist. Span. iii. 75) and the authentic instance of Gregory of Tours (Hist. France. l. vi. c. 43, p. 289) denotes more credit than the name of Leizana, the Gloria Martyr, c. 22, which has been unjustly ascribed by the cald and superstitious Pothogues, (Fleury, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. 3, p. 168).

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Each year, on the vigil of Easter,<sup>2</sup> and the miraculous shrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince and people of Gallia.<sup>3</sup> The catholic king encountered some difficulties on this important change of the national religion. A conspiracy, secretly fomented by the queen-dowager, was formed against his life; and two counts excited a dangerous revolt in the Narbonnese Gaul. But Reccared dismissed the conspirators, defeated the rebels, and executed severe justice: which the Arians, in their turn, might brand with the reproach of persecution. Eight bishops, whose names betray their barbaric origin, abjured their errors; and all the books of Arian theology were reduced to ashes, with the house in which they had been purposely collected. The whole body of the Visigoths and Suevi were allured or driven into the pale of the catholic communion: the faith, at least of the rising generation, was fervent and sincere; and the devout liberality of the barbarians enriched the churches and monasteries of Spain. Seventy bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, received the submission of their conquerors; and the zeal of the Spaniards improved the Nicene creed, by declaring the pro-

<sup>2</sup> This festival was solemnly performed. An Arian king sealed the council and sang a deep watch round the church, without being able to interrupt the faster supply of spiritual weapons.

<sup>3</sup> Ferreras (tom. ii. p. 189-193. &c.) has illustrated the foundation which regard the time and circumstances of the conversion of the Goths. They had been recently united by Theodoric to the Gothic monarchy of Spain.

cession of the Holy Ghost, from the Son, as well as from the Father; a weighty point of doctrine, which produced, long afterwards, the schism of the Greek and Latin churches.\* The royal proselyte immediately saluted and commended Pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, a learned and holy prelate, whose reign was distinguished by the conversion of heretics and infidels. The ambassadors of Recared respectfully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of gold and gems: they accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist; a cross, which inclosed a small piece of the true wood; and a key, that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter.†

The same Gregory, the spiritual conqueror of Britain, encouraged the pious Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith among the victorious savages, whose recent Christianity was polluted by the Arian heresy. Her devout labours still left room for the industry and success of future missionaries; and many cities of Italy were still disputed by hostile bishops. But the cause of Arminism was gradually suppressed by the weight of truth, of interest, and of example; and the controversy, which Egypt had

Conversion  
of the  
Lombards  
of Italy.  
A. D. 560.  
A.

\* This addition to the Nicene, or rather the Constantinopolitan, creed, was first made to the eighth council of Toledo, A. D. 643; but it was expressive of the popular doctrine, (named *Yanitas*, from its being called *Yanitas*.)

† See Gough's *Mag. A. vi.* epist. 114, upon *Gregorius*. *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 590, N. 25, 26.



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XXVII.

Persecu-  
tion of the  
Jews in  
Spain.  
A. D. 610-  
711.

derived from the Platonic school, was terminated, after a war of three hundred years, by the final conversion of the Lombards of Italy.\*

The first missionaries who preached the gospel to the barbarians, appealed to the evidence of reason, and claimed the benefit of toleration.<sup>b</sup> But as soon as they established their spiritual dominion, than they exhorted the Christian kings to extirpate, without mercy, the remains of Roman or barbaric superstition. The successors of Clovis inflicted one hundred lashes on the peasants who refused to destroy their idols; the crime of sacrificing to the demons was punished by the Anglo-Saxon laws, with the heavier penalties of imprisonment and confiscation; and even the wise Alfred adopted, as an indispensable duty, the extreme rigour of the Mosiac institutions.<sup>c</sup> But the punishment and the crime, were gradually abolished among a Christian people: the theological disputes of the schools were suspended by propitious ignorance; and the intolerant spirit, which could find neither idolaters nor he-

\* Egin. *Warranted the Cases Lombard.* l. vii. c. 44, p. 942, with Gail, *probat* that Aethelstan did prevail under the reign of Ethelred, l. vi. c. 438-441. The poem *Elene* does not attempt to mark the precise era of the national conversion, which was accomplished, however, before the end of the seventh century.

<sup>b</sup> Quærenz *Est* an uncorrupted six sangaradastayon are peribetay, at salting times together at Christianismos. . . . Hildesheim with a doctor has metropolitay are. . . . in 1010. Clavis salutari-um non constituitur non saltem. *Index Hist. Ecclesiasticæ* l. i. c. 10, p. 12, 161. Smith.

<sup>c</sup> See the *Histories of France*, tom. vii. p. 418; and *Wagner's* *Leges Anglorum*, p. 11, 21. Eginh. *metropolitan* *hundred* *probat* *Est* *non* *constituitur*.

retics, was reduced to the persecution of the CHAP.  
 Jews. That exiled nation had founded some XXXVII  
 synagogues in the cities of Gaul: but Spain, since the time of Hadrian, was filled with their numerous colonies.\* The wealth which they accumulated by trade, and the management of the finances, invited the pious avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had lost the use, and even the remembrance, of arms. Sisebut, a Gothic king, who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, proceeded at once to the last extremes of persecution;† Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured; and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the catholic king was moderated, even by the clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced an inconsistent sentence: *that* the sacraments should not be forcibly imposed; but *that* the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained, for the honour of the church, to persevere in the external practice

\* The Jews pretend that they were introduced into Spain by the Jews of Solomon, and the story of Nebuchadnezzar, that Hadrian transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and the thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, &c. *Strabo*, lib. xiv. p. 266. 267.

† Isidore, at that time archbishop of Seville, mentions, disapproves, and congratulates, the zeal of Sisebut, &c. &c. *Isidore*, p. 176. *Beaune* (4. li. 414. 55. 41) assigns the number, on the evidence of Aboath (l. ix. c. 111); but the collection is weak, and I have not long since read the quotation, (*Histories of France*, tom. iii. p. 117).

CHAP. of a religion which they disbelieved and detested.  
 XXXVII Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of Sisecbut to banish the whole nation from his dominions; and a council of Toledo published a decree, that every Gothic king should swear to maintain this salutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to diminish the victims, whom they delighted to torture, or to deprive themselves of the industrious slaves, over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews still continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have been faithfully transcribed in the Code of the Inquisition. The Gothic kings and bishops at length discovered, that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will find the opportunity of revenge. A nation, the secret or professed enemies of Christianity, still multiplied in servitude, and distress: and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid success of the Arabian conquerors.\*

CHAP. XXXVIII As soon as the barbarians withdrew their powerful support, the unpopular heresy of Arianism sank into contempt and oblivion. But the Greeks still retained their subtle and loquacious disposition: the establishment of an obscure doctrine suggested new questions, and new disputes: and it was always in the power of an ambitious prelate, or a fanatic monk, to violate the peace of

\* Damages (*Proc. viii. c. 113. p. 324-330*) faithfully represents the state of the Jews: but he might have added from the statutes of the Spanish monarchs, and the laws of the *Vicigotica*, many curious circumstances, essential to his subject, though they are foreign to history.

the church, and, perhaps, of the empire. The historian of the empire may overlook those disputes which were confined to the obscurity of schools and synods. The Manichæans, who laboured to reconcile the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster, had secretly introduced themselves into the provinces: but these foreign sectaries were involved in the common disgrace of the Gnostics, and the imperial laws were executed by the public hatred. The rational opinions of the Pelagians were propagated from Britain to Rome, Africa, and Palestine, and silently expired in a superstitious age. But the East was distracted by the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies; which attempted to explain the mystery of the incarnation, and hastened the ruin of Christianity in her native land. These controversies were first agitated under the reign of the younger Theodosius: but their important consequences extend far beyond the limits of the present volume. The metaphysical chain of argument, the contest of ecclesiastical ambition, and their political influence on the decline of the Byzantine empire, may afford an interesting and instructive series of history, from the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, to the conquest of the East by the successors of Mahomet.

## CHAP. XXXVIII

*Rise and conversion of Clovis—His victories over the  
Alamanni, Burgundians, and Visigoths—Establishment  
of the French monarchy in Gaul—Loss of the bar-  
barians—State of the Romans—The Visigoths of Spain  
—Conquest of Britain by the Saxons.*

CHAP.  
XXXVIII

*The Roman  
Empire in  
Gaul.*

THE Gauls,\* who impatiently supported the Roman yoke, received a memorable lesson from one of the lieutenants of Vespasian, whose weighty sense has been refined and expressed by the genius of Tacitus.<sup>b</sup> "The protection  
" of the republic has delivered Gaul from inter-  
" nal discord and foreign invasions. By the  
" loss of national independence, you have acquir-  
" ed the name and privileges of Roman citizens.  
" You enjoy, in common with ourselves, the  
" permanent benefits of civil government; and  
" your remote situation is less exposed to the  
" accidental mischiefs of tyranny. Instead of

\* In this chapter I shall draw my quotations from the *Historia de Galliis* des Gaultes et de la France, Paris, 1778-1787, in seven volumes in folio. By the title of these *Historiæ*, and the other *Historiæ*, all the original institutions of the *Æt. D. 1600*, are disposed in chronological order, and illustrated with learned notes. Such a critical work, which will be useful to the year 1800, might perhaps not be overdone.

<sup>b</sup> Tacit. Hist. v. lib. 74, in tom. i. p. 344. To charge Tacitus, would indeed be preposterous; but I may add the general idea which he assigns to the present state and future revolution of Gaul.

" exercising the rights of conquest, we have been  
 " contented to impose such tributes as are requi-  
 " site for your own preservation. Peace cannot  
 " be secured without armies; and armies must  
 " be supported at the expence of the people.  
 " It is for your sake, not for our own, that we  
 " guard the barrier of the Rhine against the  
 " ferocious Germans, who have so often attempt-  
 " ed, and who will always desire, to exchange  
 " the solitude of their woods and morasses for the  
 " wealth and fertility of Gaul. The fall of Rome  
 " would be fatal to the provinces; and you would  
 " be buried in the ruins of that mighty fabric,  
 " which has been raised by the valour and wis-  
 " dom of eight hundred years. Your imaginary  
 " freedom would be insulted and oppressed by a  
 " savage master; and the expulsion of the Ro-  
 " mans would be succeeded by the eternal hosti-  
 " lities of the barbarian conquerors." This  
 salutary advice was accepted, and this strange  
 prediction was accomplished. In the space of  
 four hundred years, the hardy Goths, who had  
 encountered the arms of Cæsar, were impercep-  
 tibly melted into the general mass of citizens and  
 subjects: the western empire was dissolved; and  
 the Germans, who had passed the Rhine, fiercely  
 contended for the possession of Gaul, and excited  
 the contempt, or abhorrence, of its peaceful and  
 populous inhabitants. With that conscious pride

\* *Quædam sunt, quæ Cæsaribus monumentis in Gallia vixit  
 super avitibus et multis vixit annis; et efficitur, quod non  
 indubitanter, sed probabiliter, hunc vixit, quod non indubitanter,  
 . . . Natusque Romanis vixit, quod non indubitanter, sed  
 probabiliter, quod non indubitanter.*

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which the pre-eminence of knowledge and luxury seldom fails to inspire, they derided the hairy and gigantic sarages of the North: their rustic manners, dissonant joy, voracious appetite, and their horrid appearance, equally disgusting to the sight and to the smell. The liberal studies were still cultivated in the schools of Autun and Bourdeaux; and the language of Cicero and Virgil was familiar to the Gallic youth. Their ears were astonished by the harsh and unknown sounds of the Germanic dialect, and they ingeniously lamented that the trembling muses fled from the harmony of a Burgundian lyre. The Gauls were endowed with all the advantages of art and nature; but as they wanted courage to defend them, they were justly condemned to obey, and even to flatter, the victorious barbarians, by whose clemency they held their precarious fortunes and their lives.\*

EDWARD,  
king of the  
Visigoths,  
A. D. 475-  
523.

As soon as Odoacer had extinguished the western empire, he sought the friendship of the most powerful of the barbarians. The new sovereign of Italy resigned to Euric, king of the Visigoths, all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps, as far as the Rhine and the Ocean:† and the senate might compare this liberal gift with some ostentation of power, and without any real loss of rete-

\* Edmond Spelman's collection, which collected wars and plundering, the history of his situation, (Cassio. lib. ix. cap. 1, p. 811).

† See Prosperus de Bell. Gothor. l. i. c. 12, in Ann. 2, p. 31. The challenge of Germanus is hard on the Visigoths, that he has not only retained the Rhine for the Rhine, (Hish. Germanor. p. 175), without the authority of some MSS.

me or dominion. The lawful pretensions of Euric were justified by ambition and success; and the Gothic nation might aspire, under his command, to the monarchy of Spain and Gaul. Arles and Marseilles surrendered to his arms: he oppressed the freedom of Auvergne; and the bishop condescended to purchase his recall from exile by a tribute of just, but reluctant, praise. Sidonius waited before the gates of the palace among a crowd of ambassadors and suppliants; and their various business at the court of Bordeaux attested the power, and the renown, of the king of the Visigoths. The Heruli of the distant ocean, who painted their naked bodies with its cerulean colour, implored his protection; and the Saxons respected the maritime provinces of a prince, who was destitute of any naval force. The tall Burgundians submitted to his authority; nor did he restore the captive Franks, till he had imposed on that fierce nation the terms of an unequal peace. The Vandals of Africa cultivated his useful friendship; and the Ostrogoths of Pannonia were supported by his powerful aid against the oppression of the neighbouring Huns. The North (such are the lofty strains of the poet) was agitated, or appeased, by the nod of Euric; the great king of Persia consulted the oracle of the West; and the aged god of the Tiber was protected by the swelling genius of the Garonne.\* The fortune of nations has often depended on accidents; and

\* Sidonius, l. 4. lib. apud B. M. in Jean, l. p. 201. *Fortissimè sic* *bellum Germani, et, 47, p. 490* *passim, in eadem insensum, esse per-*  
*iculis of the Gothic hero.*

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continued.

Clovis,  
king of the  
Franks,  
A. D. 481-  
511.

France may ascribe her greatness to the premature death of the Gothic king, at a time when his son Alaric was an helpless infant, and his adversary Clovis<sup>1</sup> an ambitious and valiant youth.

While Clodovic, the father of Clovis, lived in exile in Germany, he was hospitably entertained by the queen, as well as by the king, of the Thuringians. After his restoration, Basina escaped from her husband's bed to the arms of her lover: freely declaring, that if she had known a man whiter, stronger, or more beautiful, than Clodovic, that man should have been the object of her preference.<sup>2</sup> Clovis was the offspring of this voluntary union; and, when he was no more than fifteen years of age, he succeeded, by his father's death, to the command of the Salian tribe. The narrow limits of his kingdom<sup>3</sup> were confined to the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras:<sup>4</sup> and at the bepe-

<sup>1</sup> I use the familiar appellation of Clovis, from the Latin *Clodovius*, or *Clodovianus*. But the *CH* expresses only the German appellation; and the true name is not different from *Lodovik*, or *Lodovik*, *Clavis*, or *Clodovianus* (see *Supplement*, tom. III. p. 391).

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Turon. c. 28. l. II. (c. 28. l. 1.) p. 108. Basina opened the embraces of her lover the Franks, who had seen her in their youth, might converse with Gregory in their old age; and the bishops of Tours could not wish to deliver the mother of the first Christian king.

<sup>3</sup> The *Annales* of Greg. Turon. c. 28. l. II. p. 108. state the situation of Clovis's dominions, tom. V. p. 424-425; but the point of delimiting the primitive kingdom of Clovis, and of ascertaining the precise number of his vassals.

<sup>4</sup> *Supplement* contains an important notice, particularly concerning the primitive dioceses of Clovis, &c. Vol. VI. *Supplement*, c. 28. l. II. p. 108. This description supposes that Arras was possessed by the emperor, thirty years before the baptism of Clovis.

tion of Clovis, the number of his warriors could not exceed five thousand. The kindred tribes of the Franks, who had seated themselves along the Belgic rivers, the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, were governed by their independent kings, of the Merovingian race; the equals, the allies, and sometimes the enemies, of the Saxon prince. But the Germans, who obeyed, in peace, the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs, were free to follow the standard of a popular and victorious general; and the superior merit of Clovis attracted the respect and allegiance of the national confederacy. When he first took the field, he had neither gold and silver in his coffers, nor wine and corn in his magazines; but he imitated the example of Caesar, who, in the same country, had acquired wealth by the sword, and purchased soldiers with the fruits of conquest. After each successful battle or expedition, the spoils were accumulated in one common mass; every warrior received his proportionable share, and the royal prerogative submitted to the equal regulations of military law. The untamed spirit of the barbarians was taught to acknowledge the advantages of regular discipline.\* At the annual

\* Gregory of Tours (*l. vi. c. 3*, in *ant. l.* p. 335) connects the glory of Clovis with the wealth of his kingdom. The Burgundians (*l. viii. c. 10*, p. 35) mention his generous spirit in refusing for the redemption of captives.

\* See Gregory, (*l. vi. c. 37, 38*, in *ant. l.* p. 114, 115, 143). The highest story of the loss of Roman civility both the power and the character of Clovis. As a point of controversy, it has been strongly supported by Willelmus, Huet, &c. and the able postscripter of the *Antiquities*.

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review of the month of March, their arms were diligently inspected; and when they traversed a peaceful territory, they were prohibited from touching a blade of grass. The justice of Clovis was inexorable; and his careless or disobedient soldiers were punished with instant death. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Frank; but the valour of Clovis was directed by cool and consummate prudence.\* In all his transactions with mankind, he calculated the weight of interest, of passion, and of opinion; and his measures were sometimes adapted to the sanguinary manners of the Germans, and sometimes moderated by the milder genius of Rome, and Christianity. He was intercepted in the career of victory, & just he died in the forty-fifth year of his age; but he had already accomplished, in a reign of thirty years, the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul.

His two  
very early  
translations,  
No. 11. 486.

The first exploit of Clovis was the defeat of Syagrius, the son of *Regulus*; and the public quarrel might, on this occasion, be influenced by private resentment. The glory of the father still insulted the Merovingian race; the power of the son might excite the jealous ambition of the king of the Franks. Syagrius inherited, as a patrimonial estate, the city and diocese of Soissons; the desolate remnant of the second Belgic, Rheims and Troyes, Beauvais and Amiens, would na-

\* The Duke of Normandy, a noble monarch, who has managed weighty and delicate negotiations, impressively illustrates the character of Clovis. See *the History of Normandy*, vol. II. p. 141-149; the political system of Clovis.

turally submit to the count or patrician,\* and after the dissolution of the western empire, he might reign with the title, or at least with the authority, of king of the Romans.<sup>†</sup> As a Roman, he had been educated in the liberal studies of rhetoric and jurisprudence; but he was engaged by accident and policy in the familiar use of the Germanic laws. The independent barbarians resorted to the tribunal of a stranger, who possessed the singular talent of explaining, in their native tongue, the dictates of reason and equity. The diligence and affability of their judge rendered him popular, the impartial wisdom of his decrees obtained their voluntary obedience, and the reign of Syagrius over the Franks and Burgundians, seemed to revive the original institution of civil society.<sup>‡</sup> In the midst of these peaceful occupations, Syagrius received, and boldly accepted, the hostile defiance of Clovis; who challenged his rival in the spirit, and almost in the language, of chivalry, to appoint the day, and the

\* M. BOUTIER'S *Épigraphie*, which covers the space of the *Annuaire de l'école*, p. 175-180, has accurately defined the nature and extent of the Kingdom of Syagrius, and his history; but not the opportunity allows the slight extent of *Théodoric* in p. 18-20, or the *glosses* of *Isidore* and *Ammon*.

† I may observe that *Épigraphie*, in the *Epistole* of Gregory of Tours, that in p. 305, has precisely indicated the name of *Patricius* for the immediate title of *Rex Romanorum*.

‡ *Isidore*, l. v, epist. 5, in *Ann. l. p. 154*, who upon him the *Salus*, the *Amplius* of the *Imperium*, adduces this language king in the view of *liberty* and *equity*. From such offices of *education*, the really *Isidore* had named himself to the *divine* of the *Moses*, (*Herodot.* l. i, c. 96-100).

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field,\* of battle. In the time of Cæsar, Sedunum would have poured forth a body of fifty thousand horse; and such an army might have been plentifully supplied with shields, columnæ, and military engines, from the three armenta, or manufactures, of the city.† But the courage and numbers of the Gallic youth were long since exhausted; and the loose bands of volunteers, or mercenaries, who marched under the standard of Syagrius, were incapable of contending with the national valour of the Franks.‡ It would be ungenerous, without some more accurate knowledge of his strength and resources, to condemn the rapid flight of Syagrius, who escaped, after the loss of a battle, to the distant court of Thiodomer. The feeble minority of Alaric could not assist, or protect, an unfortunate fugitive; the pusillanimous Gaths were intimidated by the menaces of Clovis; and the Roman king, after a short confinement, was delivered into the hands of the executioner. The Belgic cities surrendered to the king of the Franks; and his de-

\* Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico* l. vi. c. 21. Strabo (p. 224-225) has observed, concerning this field of battle, *de Arvernis, a Potentissima civitate, abest non ultra in die missæ sedugæ*. The ground was marked by a circle of pillars representing the three armenta, the subject-matter of Livy and Cæsar on the death of Bouda.

† See Cæsar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* l. vi. c. 21, in tom. i. p. 423, and the *Strabo*, tom. i. p. 116. The three Fabrique of Manufactures were Armenta, Mœbula, and Clusæ. The last supplies the complete picture of the happy situation.

‡ The opinion must be confined to the circumstances, and cannot extend farther the French conquest of Germany, l. vi. c. 27, in tom. i. p. 118, in subsequent pages, and so.

minions were enlarged towards the East by the ample dioceses of Tongres,\* which Clovis subdued in the tenth year of his reign.

The name of the Alemanni has been absurdly derived from their imaginary settlement on the banks of the *Lesser lake*.† That fortunate district, from the lake to Avenche, and Mount Jura, was occupied by the Burgundians.‡ The western parts of Helvetia had indeed been subdued by the ferocious Alemanni, who destroyed with their own hands the fruits of their conquest. A province, improved and adorned by the arts of Rome, was again reduced to a savage wilderness; and some vestige of the stately Vindonissa may still be discovered in the fertile and populous valley of the Aar.§ From the source of the Rhine, to its con-

Index and  
attention  
of the Ale-  
manni.  
A. D. 436

\* Helms has mistaken one town for p. 377-378, that Gregory of Tours has themselves in his mistake, have repeatedly confounded the German kingdom of Thuringia, beyond the Rhine, and the little city of Tongres, on the Moselle, which was once actually the country of the Franks, and once named the flower of Lothar.

† *Plinius Naturalis historia Romanorum liber, Alemanni districtus, Aquas, ad Vopisc. Gregor. iv. 318.* Dion. August. lib. iv. p. 317 has only alleged the most cruel and corrupt lord of Lothar of Frisia.

‡ Gregory of Tours made St. Epiphanius river the Jura river seven miles from Lake Burgundum Alemannicum and Avenche adjacent district, in lib. iv. p. 318. M. de Waddington lib. de Consideratione Helvetiarum lib. i. p. 3, 378 has accurately described the Helvetian limits of the district of Alemanni and the Transjura Burgundia. They were contemporaneous with the names of Carthage and Avenche, or Lemane, and are now distinguished, the ancient Switzerland, by the use of the German, or Teutonic, language.

§ See Gudmann, de Ribus Helvetiarum, l. 4. c. 3. p. 11. 12. Within the ancient walls of Vindonissa, the north of Birmingen, the site

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flux with the Mein and the Moselle, the formidable  
armies of the Allemanni commanded either side  
of the river, by the right of ancient possession, or  
recent victory. They had spread themselves into  
Gaul, over the modern provinces of Alsace and  
Lorraine; and their bold invasion of the kingdom  
of Cologne, summoned the Saliic prince to the de-  
fence of his Ripuarian allies. Clovis encountered  
the invaders of Gaul in the plain of Tolbiac, about  
twenty-four miles from Cologne; and the two  
descent nations of Germany were mutually ani-  
mated by the memory of past exploits, and the  
prospect of future greatness. The Franks, after an  
obstinate struggle, gave way; and the Allemanni,  
saining a short victory, impetuously pressed their  
retreat. But the battle was restored by the valour,  
the conduct, and perhaps by the piety of Clovis;  
and the event of the bloody day decided for ever  
the alternative of empire or servitude. The last  
king of the Allemanni was slain in the field, and his  
people were slaughtered and pursued, till they  
threw down their arms, and yielded to the mercy  
of the conqueror. Without discipline it was im-  
possible for them to rally; they had contemptu-  
ously demolished the walls and fortifications  
which might have protected their distress; and  
they were followed into the heart of their forests,

See at length, and the town of Ambr, upon a mountain of snow.  
The philosopher travels very rapidly the mountains of Ambr  
composed of stratified rocks, of various species, of various operations, and  
of various kinds. If he be lucky a philosopher, he will find  
a new theory and theory of the world.

by an enemy, not less active, or intrepid, than themselves. The great Theodoric congratulated the victory of Clovis, whose sister Aldebrande the king of Italy had lately married; but he mildly interceded with his brother in favour of the suppliants and fugitives, who had implored his protection. The Gallic territories, which were possessed by the Alemanni, became the prize of their conqueror; and the haughty nation, invincible, or rebellious, to the arms of Rome, acknowledged the sovereignty of the Merovingian kings, who graciously permitted them to enjoy their peculiar manners and institutions, under the government of official, and, at length, of hereditary dukes. After the conquest of the western provinces, the Franks alone maintained their ancient habitations beyond the Rhine. They gradually subdued, and civilized, the exhausted countries, as far as the Elbe, and the mountains of Bohemia; and the peace of Europe was secured by the obedience of Germany.\*

Till the thirtieth year of his age, Clovis continued to worship the gods of his ancestors.

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2. 1000000  
 3. 1000000  
 4. 1000000  
 5. 1000000

[illegible]

<sup>2</sup> Cassius M. J. Gregory, suggests that Chilo worshipped the gods of Canaan and Baal. The fact is incredible, and the

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His disbelief, or rather disregard, of Christianity, might encourage him to pillage with less remorse the churches of an hostile territory: but his subjects of Gaul enjoyed the free exercise of religious worship; and the bishops entertained a more favourable hope of the idolater, than of the heretics. The Merovingian prince had contracted a fortunate alliance with the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, who, in the midst of an Arian court, was educated in the profession of the catholic faith. It was her interest, as well as her duty, to achieve the conversion of a pagan husband: and Clovis insensibly listened to the voice of love and religion. He consented (perhaps such terms had been previously stipulated) to the baptism of his eldest son: and though the sudden death of the infant excited some superstitious fears, he was persuaded, a second time, to repeat the dangerous experiment. In the distress of the battle of Tolbiac, Clovis loudly invoked the god of Clotilda and the Christians; and victory disposed him to hear, with respectful grati-

would any degree less completely, or less than a century, the most useful religion of the Franks had been established, and even forgotten.

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours relates the marriage and conversion of Clovis (p. 64, c. 28-33, in tom. ii. p. 113-120). From *Perlegronius*, or the *Germania* of *Perlegronius*, the same is p. 200-201, the author of the *Germania* of *Perlegronius*, in tom. ii. p. 418-419, and *Germania* of *Perlegronius*, in tom. ii. p. 418-419, may be heard without wonder. Tradition taught king *perlegronius* some curious circumstances of that important transaction.

ture, the eloquent <sup>4</sup> Remigius,\* bishop of Rheims, who forcibly displayed the temporal and spiritual advantages of his conversion. The king declared himself satisfied of the truth of the catholic faith; and the political reasons which might have suspended his public profession, were removed by the devout or loyal acclamations of the Franks, who shewed themselves alike prepared to follow their heroic leader, to the field of battle, or to the baptismal font. The important ceremony was performed in the cathedral of Rheims, with every circumstance of magnificence and solemnity, that could impress an awful sense of religion on the minds of its rude proselytes.<sup>7</sup> The new Constitution was immediately baptized, with three thousand of his warlike subjects; and their ex-

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\* A traveller who returned from Rheims to Auvergne, had under a copy of his *Partemontium* from the secretary or book-keeper of the abbey of Clugny, *Udalricus Agellensis*, l. ii. cap. 76. First version of Remigius, which now still exists, in text, p. 32, 33, 34, and correspond with the principal points of the text.

\* *Quintian*, one of the successors of Remigius, l. c. ii. 34, 35, has composed his life, *de vita*, l. c. p. 373-380. The *ecclesiastical history* of the Church of Rheims is still upon some foundation, which is destroyed, however, by the silence and confusion of *Quintian*. It is tolerable enough, that Remigius, who was consecrated at the age of twenty-two, l. c. ii. 33, died the episcopal chair seventy-four years. *Chron. Civitas de Rheims*, tom. ii. p. 284, 373.

\* A great fine *Veron*, *Requiescat in pace*, or rather *requisit*, it will be thought done by a little done, for the bishop of Clermont and it is still good, and preserved, is the successor of the king of France. *Hyemius* (he reigned in the primary of *Gregory*) is the first author of this Bible, in tom. iii. p. 373, where eight centuries the *Veron* in *Veron* *Chambers* or *Chambers* de *Veron*, tom. ii. p. 313-323 are substituted, with printed types, and sometimes destroyed.

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—————

ample was imitated by the remainder of the *gentile barbarians*, who, in obedience to the victorious prince, adored the cross which they had burnt, and burnt the idols which they had formerly adored.\* The mind of Clovis was susceptible of transient fervour: he was exasperated by the pathetic tale of the passion and death of Christ; and, instead of weighing the salutary consequences of that mysterious sacrifice, he exclaimed, with indiscreet fury,—"Had I been present at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries."† But the savage conqueror of Gaul was incapable of examining the proofs of a religion, which depends on the laborious investigation of historic evidence, and speculative theology. He was still more incapable of feeling the mild influence of the gospel, which persuades and purifies the heart of a genuine convert. His ambitious reign was a perpetual violation of moral and Christian duties; his hands were stained with blood, in peace as well as in war; and, as soon as Clovis had dismissed a synod of the Gallican church, he calmly assassinated all the princes of the Merovingian race.‡ Yet the king of the

\* *Mors depose tota, simulque vitam quod immortali, mercede gloriæ datur.* Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 31, in tom. ii. p. 177.

† *Si ego illud cum Frangis non habuissim, impetum ejus viridissimum.* This rash expression, which Gregory has justifiably censured, is collected by Feuteganger (Epistol. p. 71, in tom. ii. p. 469; Simoni, &c. l. i. c. 15, in tom. iii. p. 407, and the Chroniques de St. Denis, &c. l. i. c. 25, in tom. iii. p. 171), as an admirable instance of Christian zeal.

‡ Gregory, &c. l. ii. c. 40-42, in tom. ii. p. 181-183, after evasively reading the reported crimes, and affected excuses, of Clovis, concludes—

Franks might sincerely worship the Christian God, as a Being more excellent and powerful than his national deities; and the signal deliverance and victory of Teutonic encouraged Clovis to confide in the future protection of the Lord of Hosts. Martin, the most popular of the saints, had filled the western world with the fame of those miracles, which were incessantly performed at his holy sepulchre of Tours. His visible or invisible aid promoted the cause of a liberal and orthodox prince; and the profane remark of Clovis himself, that St. Martin was an expensive friend,\* need not be interpreted as the symptom of any permanent, or rational, scepticism. But earth, as well as heaven, rejoiced in the conversion of the Franks. On the memorable day, when Clovis ascended from the baptismal font, he alone, in the Christian world, deserved the name and prerogatives of a catholic king. The emperor Anastasius entertained some dangerous errors concerning the nature of the divine incarnation; and the barbarians of Italy, Africa, Spain, and Gaul, were involved in the Arian heresy. The eldest, or rather the only, son of the church, was acknowledged by the clergy as their lawful sovereign.

C. J. A. P.  
233 X 770

conventions, perhaps indirectly, with a limited, self-regulating will  
never hurt a *bona fide* transaction. . . .<sup>14</sup>

\* After the Gothic victory, Chosroes sent offerings to St. Martin of Tours. He wished to impress his subjects by the gift of one hundred pieces of gold; but the distributed amount would not have been the value for the price of his redemption had been notified. The source provided the king to explain, Voss, *M. Martinus* (in *Revue des études latines*), and later in English, *Mediaeval Archaeology* (1914), p. 144.

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Submission  
of the Ar-  
morians  
and the  
Romans.  
1000th.  
A. D. 487.  
&c.

roger, or glorious deliverer; and the arms of Clovis were strenuously supported by the zeal and favour of the catholic faction.\*

Under the Roman empire, the wealth and jurisdiction of the bishops, their sacred character, and perpetual office, their numerous dependants, popular eloquence, and provincial assemblies, had rendered them always respectable, and sometimes dangerous. Their influence was augmented with the progress of superstition; and the establishment of the French monarchy may, in some degree, be ascribed to the firm alliance of an hundred prelates, who reigned in the discontested, or independent, cities of Gaul. The slight foundations of the Armerian republic had been repeatedly shaken, or overthrown; but the same people still guarded their domestic freedom; asserted the dignity of the Roman name; and bravely resisted the predatory incursions and regular attacks, of Clovis, who laboured to extend his empire from the Seine to the Loire. Their successful opposition introduced an equal and honourable union. The Franks esteemed the valor of the Armerians,† and the Armerians

\* That the pope did send Pope Anastasius on the royal embassy to Clovis, is a mistake. Athen. Bishop of Vienne, addressed Clovis on the same subject, by which word many of the Latin bishops would be very startled, their joy and attachment.

† Gregory of the Galatians, an unknown person, who here appears in the west of Europe, that the Armerians had possessed the proper sense of the language; but his very ignorance has been allowed him to be corrected. Yet an unprejudiced reader would seriously enquire, that Francis was to do the will of God in the defence of Rome; and not a conspiracy of Italian cities, which had revolted from the empire.

were reconciled by the religion of the Franks. CHAP.  
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The military force which had been stationed for the defence of Gaul, consisted of one hundred different bands of cavalry or infantry; and these troops, while they assumed the title and privileges of Roman soldiers, were renewed by an incessant supply of the barbarian youth. The extreme fortifications, and scattered fragments, of the empire, were still defended by their hopeless courage. But their retreat was intercepted, and their communication was impracticable: they were abandoned by the Greek princes of Constantinople, and they piously disclaimed all connection with the Arian usurpers of Gaul. They accepted, without shame or reluctance, the generous capitulation, which was proposed by a catholic hero; and this spurious, or legitimate, progeny of the Roman legions, was distinguished in the succeeding age by their arms, their ensigns, and their peculiar dress and institutions. But the national strength was increased by these powerful and voluntary accessions: and the neighbouring kingdoms dreaded the numbers, as well as the spirit, of the Franks. The reduction of the northern provinces of Gaul, instead of being decided by the chance of a single battle, appears to have been slowly effected by the gradual operation of war and treaty: and Clovis acquired each object of his ambition, by such efforts, or such concessions, as were adequate to its real value. *The* savage character, and the virtues of Henry IV., suggest the most opposite ideas of human nature: yet some resemblance may be found in the situa-

CHAP. tion of two princes, who conquered France by  
XXXIII. their valour, their policy, and the merits of a  
reasonable conversion.\*

The Burgundians  
947.  
A. D. 1269.

The kingdom of the Burgundians, which was defined by the course of two Gallic rivers, the Saône and the Rhone, extended from the forest of Vooges to the Alps and the sea of Marseilles.† The sceptre was in the hands of Gundobald. That valiant and ambitious prince had reduced the number of royal candidates by the death of two brothers, one of whom was the father of Clothaire; but his imperfect prudence still permitted Godegisil, the youngest of his brothers, to possess the dependant principality of Geneva. The Arian monarch was justly alarmed by the satisfaction, and the hopes, which seemed to animate his

\* This singular signature of Prosper, *lib. Bell. Goth. l. 4. c. 11.* is not, it is p. 275-276, dissolves the origin of the French monarchy. The *Continuatore*, l. 1. That the Gothic kingdom became an inalienable province of the geography of the West. 8. That these virtues and privileges, which should have been lasting traces, are totally invisible in Memory of France, the *Salle* took, &c.

† *Deponit* these *Blasphemes* and *Arrogant* and *profound* *Manducation* *prophets*. *Long. Varro*, l. 2. c. 35. to him, l. p. 118. The province of Marseilles, as far as the *Durance*, was afterwards ceded to the *Goths* and the signature of twenty-five bishops are supposed to represent the kingdom of Burgundy. A. D. 515. *Guizot*, *Annales* to him, v. p. 104, 105. Yet I would except *Vindictive*. The bishops who lived under the *pagan* *Alamanni*, would naturally receive the signs of the *new* *Christian* kingdom. *Mauv.* On his last *Ann* *ecclesiastique* it is explained many *circumstances* relative to the *Burgundian* monarchy.

8. *Hieron.* *Udal.* of the *Alamanni*, l. 1. 105, who says reasonably *knows* the testimony of *Gregory* of *Tours*, has produced a *strong* *from* *Antiqu.* *legum*, v. 1. to prove that *Gundobald* affected to despise the *tragic* *deeds*, which his subjects affected to applaud.

clergy and people, after the conversion of Clovis, and Gundobald convened at Lyons an assembly of his bishops, to reconcile, if it were possible, their religious and political discontents. A vain conference was agitated between the two factions. The Arians upbraided the catholics with the worship of three Gods: the catholics defended their cause by theological distinctions; and the usual arguments, objections, and replies, were reverberated with obstinate clamour; till the king revealed his secret apprehensions, by an abrupt but decisive question, which he addressed to the orthodox bishops: "If you truly profess the Christian religion, why do you not restrain the king of the Franks? He has declared war against me, and forms alliances with my enemies for my destruction. A sanguinary and envenomed mind is not the symptom of a sincere conversion: let him shew his faith by his works." The answer of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, who spoke in the name of his brethren, was delivered with the voice and countenance of an angel. "We are ignorant of the motives and intentions of the king of the Franks: but we are taught by scripture, that the kingdoms which abandon the divine law, are frequently subverted; and that enemies will arise on every side against those who have made God their enemy. Return, with thy people, to the law of God, and he will give peace and security to thy dominions." The king of Burgundy, who was not prepared to accept the condition, which the catholics considered as essential to the treaty,

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CHAP. delayed and dismissed the ecclesiastical conference; after reproaching his bishops, that Clovis, their friend and proselyte, had privately accepted the allegiance of his brother.<sup>a</sup>  
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Victory of Clovis. A. D. 486. The allegiance of his brother was already secured; and the obedience of Godegast, who joined the royal standard with the troops of Geneva, more effectually promoted the success of the conspiracy. While the Franks and Burgundians contended with equal valour, his seasonable desertion decided the event of the battle; and as Gundobald was faintly supported by the disaffected Gauls, he yielded to the arms of Clovis, and hastily retreated from the field, which appears to have been situated between Langres and Dijon. He distrusted the strength of Dijon, a quadrangular fortress, encompassed by two rivers, and by a wall thirty feet high, and fifteen thick; with four gates, and thirty-three towers; he abandoned to the pursuit of Clovis the important cities of Lyons and Vienna; and Gundobald still fled with precipitation, till he had reached Avignon, at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles from the field of battle. A long

<sup>a</sup> See the original testimony, the *Ann. iv. p. 89-1001.* Among the principal actors, and probably the authors, of the meeting, was bishop of Vienna. A short notice of his person and works may be found in Dupin, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de France*, t. 1, p. 411-412.

<sup>b</sup> Gregory of Tours II. lib. 4. c. 18, or lib. 6. p. 127; but gives his position, or rather his residence, more accurately, in the description of Burgundy a month, which already descended the Rhine in 477. It depended on the bishops of Langres till the twelfth century, and afterwards became the capital of the dukes of Burgundy. *Langres, Description de la France*, part 1, p. 183.

vings, and an artful negotiation, admonished the king of the Franks of the danger and difficulty of his enterprise. He imposed a tribute on the Burgundian prince, compelled him to pardon and reward his brother's treachery, and proudly returned to his own dominions, with the spoils and captives of the southern provinces. This splendid triumph was soon clouded by the intelligence, that Gundobald had violated his recent obligations, and that the unfortunate Godegisil, who was left at Vienna with a garrison of five thousand Franks,\* had been besieged, surprised, and massacred, by his inhuman brother. Such an outrage might have exasperated the patience of the most peaceful sovereign; yet the conqueror of Gaul dissembled the injury, released the tribute, and accepted the alliance, and military service, of the king of Burgundy. Clovis no longer possessed those advantages which had assured the success of the preceding wars; and his rival, instructed by adversity, had found new resources in the affections of his people. The Gauls or Romans applauded the mild and impartial laws of Gundobald, which almost raised them to the same level with their conquerors. The bishops were reconciled, and flattered, by the hopes, which he artfully suggested, of his approaching conversion; and thought he should their

\* The *Epistola* of *Gregory of Tours* (see tom. ii. p. 101) has supplied this mention of *Franks*; and he easily supposes that they were not the same as *Gundobald*. The present Burgundians spared the subject of Clovis, and sent them captive to the king of the Visigoths, who ordered them to the recovery of *Thoulouse*.

CHAP. XXVII. accomplishment to the last moment of his life, his moderation secured the peace, and suspended the ruin, of the kingdom of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup>

*Final conquest of Burgundy by the French, A.D. 1535.* I am impatient to pursue the final ruin of that kingdom, which was accomplished under the reign of Sigismund, the son of Gundobald. The catholic Sigismund has acquired the honours of a saint and martyr: but the hands of the royal saint were stained with the blood of his innocent son, whom he shamefully sacrificed to the pride and resentment of a stepmother. He soon discovered his error, and bewailed the irreparable loss. While Sigismund embraced the corpse of the unfortunate youth, he received a severe admonition from one of his attendants.—“It is not his situation, O king! it is *thine*, which deserves pity and lamentation.” The reproaches of a guilty conscience were alleviated, however, by his liberal donations to the monastery of Agaunum, or St. Maurice, in Valais; which he himself had founded in honour of the imaginary martyr of the Theban legion.<sup>2</sup> A full chorus of

<sup>1</sup> In this Burgundian war I have followed Gregory of Tours, O. II. c. 32, 33, by Join. II. p. 178, 179, whose conduct appears so favourable with that of *Procopius*, the Bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 12, in which p. 31, 32, that some critics have supposed two different wars. The *Annales* of Join. *Costum.* &c. l. vii. c. 17, p. 177-179, has distinctly represented the causes and the events.

<sup>2</sup> See his life or legend, Join. II. c. 40, 41. A singular new story has just now been extracted from its original source of a romantic origin. See Sigismund was remarkable for the cure of fevers.

<sup>3</sup> Before the end of the 15th century, the church of St. Maurice, and his Theban legion, had received Agaunum a place of great importance. A picturesque community of 500 monks had taken

perpetual penitency was instituted by the pious king: he assiduously practised the austere devotion of the monk; and it was his humble prayer, that Heaven would inflict in this world the punishment of his sin. His prayer was heard; the avengers were at hand; and the provinces of Burgundy were overwhelmed by an army of victorious Franks. After the event of an unsuccessful battle, Sigismund, who wished to protract his life that he might prolong his penance, concealed himself in the desert in a religious habit, till he was discovered and betrayed by his subjects, who solicited the favour of their new masters. The captive monarch, with his wife and two children, were transported to Orleans, and buried alive in a deep well, by the stern command of the son of Clovis; whose cruelty might derive some excuse from the maxims and examples of their barbarous age. Their ambition, which urged them to achieve the conquest of Burgundy, was inflamed, or disguised, by filial piety; and Clotilda, whose sanctity did not consist in the forgiveness of injuries, pressed them to revenge her father's death on the family of his assassin. The rebellious Burgundians, for they attempted to break their chains, were still permitted to enjoy their national laws under the obligation of tribute and military service; and the Me-

*desert must have been a forest, which was destroyed (A. D. 1211) by the regular monastery of Sigismund. Within fifty years, the sands of light made a national way to smother their history, and his strength lies in the *Tabula Imperii Burgundici* (Genevæ, 1794, p. 431-432) the constant remark of a learned historian of France.*

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continued Fringian princes peaceably reigned over a kingdom, whose glory and greatness had been first overthrown by the arms of Clovis.

The Gal.  
 151. 1512.  
 A.D. 507. The first victory of Clovis had insulted the honour of the Goths. They viewed his rapid progress with jealousy and terror; and the youthful fame of Alaric was oppressed by the more potent genius of his rival. Some disputes inevitably arose on the edge of their contiguous dominions; and after the delays of fruitless negotiation, a personal interview of the two kings was proposed and accepted. This conference of Clovis and Alaric was held in a small island of the Loire, near Angoulême. They embraced, familiarly conversed, and seated together; and separated with the warmest professions of peace, and brotherly love. But their apparent confidence concealed a dark suspicion of hostile and treacherous designs; and their mutual complaints solicited, eluded, and disclaimed a final arbitration. At Paris, which he already considered as his royal seat, Clovis declared to an assembly of the princes and warriors, the pretence, and the motive, of a Gothic war. "It grieves me to see that the Arians still possess the fairest portion of Gaul. Let us march against them with the aid of God; and, having vanquished the heretics, we will possess, and divide, their fertile pro-

1. Thierry, *History of the Franks*, (Paris, 1825, 4 vols. 8vo, p. 126), has copied the authentic *Annales*, and Gregory of Tours *de vita et regno* of Clovis, p. 166, 167, has expressed the principal facts of the life of Clovis, and the conquest of Burgundy. Prosper, *op. cit.* p. 215, and Agathangos *de vita* of p. 126, show more remote and imperfect knowledge.

"vices." The Franks, who were inspired by hereditary valour and violent zeal, applauded the generous design of their monarch; expressed their resolution to conquer or die, since death and conquest would be equally profitable; and solemnly protested that they would never shave their beards, till victory should absolve them from that inconvenient vow. The enterprise was promoted by the public, or private, exhortations of Clothilda. She reminded her husband, how effectually some pious foundation would propitiate the Deity, and his servants; and the Christian hero, darting his battle-axe with a skillful and nervous hand,—“There, (said he), on that spot where my *Franciscus* shall fall, will I erect a church in honour of the holy apostles.” This ostentatious piety confirmed and justified the attachment of the catholics, with whom he secretly corresponded; and their devout wishes were gradually opened into a formidable conspiracy. The people of Aquitaine was alarmed by the indignant reproaches of their Gothic tyrants, who justly accused them of preferring the dominion of the

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\* Gregory, *op. cit.* II, no. 25, la. 100, 101, p. 1112, mentions the short but remarkably species of *Chama*. Vaidin mentions, *op. cit.* 3, *Antenn. correae* (Linn.) Gmelin, the author of the *Antenn. correae* (Linn.) Gmelin, p. 112, that the species of *Chama* mentioned by Gregory is not a new species, but a new species of *Chama*.

\* This is perhaps a new species. It agrees with *Stenocranus* *sp.* from the same place. The form and size of this species are closely described by *Stenocranus* (in *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, p. 31). Examples of its natural application to Lewis and Clark may be found in the *Journal of Stenocranus*, and the large *Stenocranus* *sp.* from the same place.



The accidental, or artificial, prodigies, which adorned the expedition of Clovis, were accepted, by a superstitious age, as the uncontestable declaration of the Divine favour. He marched from Paris; and as he proceeded with devout reverence through the holy diocese of Tours, his anxiety tempted him to consult the shrine of St. Martin, the sanctuary, and the oracle of Gaul. His messengers were instructed to remark the words of the Psalm, which should happen to be chanted at the precise moment when they entered the church. Those words most fortunately expressed the valour and victory of the champions of Heaven, and the application was easily transferred to the new Joshua, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle against the enemies of the Land. Orleans secured to the Franks a bridge on the Loire; but, at the distance of sixty miles from Poitiers, their progress was intercepted by an extraordinary swell of the river Vienne, or Vienna; and the opposite banks were covered by the encampment of the Visigoths. Delay must be always dangerous to barbarians, who ravage the country through which they march; and had Clovis possessed leisure and materials, it might

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*View of  
Clovis,  
A. D. 507.*

\* This mode of illustration, by accepting as so much the first record words, which in particular circumstances should be presented to the eye or ear, was derived from the legends and the Psalter, or Bible, was continued in the Poems of Homer and Virgil. From the fourth to the sixteenth century, these words, sometimes, as they are termed, were repeatedly pronounced by the secret of sorcery, and repeatedly practiced by kings, bishops, and monks. But a curious dissertation of the *Alphabetum* in the *Museum de Clavicornio*, tom. ii. p. 287-310.

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here been impracticable to construct a bridge, or to force a passage, in the face of a superior enemy. But the affectionate peasants, who were impatient to welcome their deliverer, could easily betray some unknown, or unguarded, ford: the merit of the discovery was enhanced by the useful interposition of fraud or fiction; and a white hart, of singular size and beauty, appeared to guide and animate the march of the catholic army. The councils of the Visigoths were irresolute and distracted. A crowd of impatient warriors, presumptuous in their strength, and disdaining to fly before the robbers of Germany, excited Alaric to assert in arms the name and blood of the conqueror of Rome. The advice of the graver chieftains pressed him to elude the first ardour of the Franks; and to expect, in the southern provinces of Gaul, the veteran and victorious Ostrogoths, whom the king of Italy had already sent to his assistance. The decisive moments were wasted in idle deliberation; the Goths too hastily abandoned, perhaps, an advantageous post; and the opportunity of a secure retreat was lost by their slow and disorderly motions. After Clovis had passed the ford, as it is still named, of the *Hart*, he advanced with bold and hasty steps to prevent the escape of the enemy. His nocturnal march was directed by a flaming meteor, suspended in the air above the cathedral of Poitiers; and this signal, which might be physically concerted with the orthodox successor of St. Hilary, was compared to the column of fire that guided the

Israelites in the desert. At the third hour of the day, about ten miles beyond Poitiers, Clovis overtook, and instantly attacked, the Gothic army: whose defeat was already prepared by terror and confusion. Yet they rallied in their extreme distress, and the martial youths, who had clamorously demanded the battle, refused to survive the ignominy of flight. The two hosts encountered each other in single combat. Alaric fell by the hand of his rival; and the victorious Frank was saved by the goodness of his cuirass, and the vigour of his horse, from the spears of two desperate Goths, who furiously rose against him, to revenge the death of their sovereign. The vague expression of a mountain of the slain, serves to indicate a cruel, though indefinite, slaughter: but Gregory has carefully observed, that his valiant countryman Apollinaris, the son of Sidonius, lost his life at the head of the nobles of Auvergne. Perhaps these suspected catholics had been maliciously exposed to the blind assault of the enemy: and perhaps the influence of religion was superseded by personal attachment, or military honour.

Such is the empire of Fortune, (if we may still disguise our ignorance under that popular name).

Comment  
of Agathang  
to the  
Franks,  
A. D. 486.

\* After consulting the text, we detect a double mistake of Gregory, who gives the defeat of Alaric near Combronne, or Combronne, from the confusion of Gregory's Ponticus, and the mistake of the same Ponticus, that the battle was fought in camp Potholus, on the banks of the Oise, about ten miles to the south of Poitiers. Clovis attacked and defeated the Visigoths near Orléans, and the country was divided into a village still named Combronne. See the text. See the Illustrations of the Abbé de Bèze, tom. i. p. 211, 212.

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that it is almost equally difficult to foresee the events of war, or to explain their various consequences. A bloody and complete victory has sometimes yielded no more than the possession of the field; and the loss of ten thousand men has sometimes been sufficient to destroy, in a single day, the work of ages. The decisive battle of Poitiers was followed by the conquest of Aquitaine. Alaric had left behind him an infant son, a bastard competitor, factious nobles, and a dissipated people; and the remaining *Barons* of the Goths were oppressed by the general contumacious, or opposed to each other in civil discord. The victorious king of the Franks proceeded without delay to the siege of Angoulême. At the sound of his trumpets the walls of the city imitated the example of Jericho, and instantly fell to the ground: a splendid miracle, which may be referred to the supposition, that some clerical engineers had secretly undermined the foundations of the rampart.\* At Bordeaux, which had submitted without resistance, Clovis established his winter quarters; and his prudent economy transported from Thoulouse the royal treasures, which were deposited in the capital of the monarchy. The conqueror penetrated as far as the confines of Spain;† restored the honours

\* *Agostinus* is in the road from Poitiers to Bordeaux; and although Gregory enlarges the story, I can never really believe that he confirmed the order of history, than that Clovis suggested the idea of it.

† *Pyrenæa* must be meant *Pyrenæus* (not *Pyrene*) is the expression of *Basque*, which carries the sense that it does. *Pyrenæus* did not even follow the mark country, *Alaya Hispania*, p. 419. This

of the catholic church; fixed in Aquitain a colony of Franks;<sup>1</sup> and delegated to his lieutenants the easy task of subduing, or extirpating, the nation of the Visigoths. But the Visigoths were protected by the wise and powerful monarch of Italy. While the balance was still equal, Theodoric had perhaps delayed the march of the Ostrogoths; but their strenuous efforts successfully resisted the ambition of Clovis; and the army of the Franks, and their Burgundian allies, was compelled to raise the siege of Arles, with the loss, as it is said, of thirty thousand men. These vicissitudes inclined the fierce spirit of Clovis to acquiesce in an advantageous treaty of peace. The Visigoths were suffered to retain the possession of Septimania, a narrow tract of sea-coast, from the Rhone to the Pyrenees; but the ample province of Aquitain, from those mountains to the Loire, was indissolubly united to the kingdom of France.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bold and boldness write, (perhaps a word of Ammon) see the *Annales de Metz*, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. viii. p. 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Gesta Francorum* positively asserts, that Charlemagne sent a body of Franks to the assistance of the Visigoths; and he is not implicitly followed by Rost, whose assertion, as we have seen, was proved, upon examination. Yet it should seem that they were engaged with the Romans of Aquitaine, till Charles, having intervened a more numerous and powerful army, (Hibon *Ann. Charlemagne*, tom. ii. p. 212.)

<sup>3</sup> In the composition of the *Gesta* war, I have used the following materials, with due regard to their proper value. First, the *Annales* of Theodoric king of Italy, (Carlsruhe, 1. ii. epist. 1. 4, in tom. iv. p. 7-11.) *Pharphra*, the *Wall. Gesta*, 1. 4. c. 12, in tom. ii. p. 25.

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Continued  
of Clovis.  
A. D. 510.

After the success of the Gothic war, Clovis secured the honours of the Roman consulship. The emperor Anastasius ambitiously bestowed on the most powerful rival of Theodoric, the title and ensigns of that eminent dignity: yet, from some unknown cause, the name of Clovis has not been inscribed in the *Fasti* either of the East or West.<sup>1</sup> On the solemn day, the monarch of Gaul, placing a diadem on his head, was invested in the church of St. Martin, with a purple tunic and mantle. From thence he proceeded on horseback to the cathedral of Tours: and, as he passed through the streets, profusely scattered, with his own hand, a donative of gold and silver to the joyful multitude, who incessantly repeated their acclamations of *Clovis* and *Augustus*. The actual, or legal, authority of Clovis, could not receive any new accessions from the consular dignity. It was a name, a shadow, an empty pageant: and if the conqueror had been instructed

<sup>1</sup> The *Geography* of Tasso, ch. ii. c. 35, 36, 37, in tom. ii. p. 241, 242; *Isidore's* *lib. Hist. Gothici* = 38, in tom. ii. p. 285; *Fredegarus*, in *Vol. 14. Migne*, in tom. ii. p. 230; *Isidore*, in *Chron. Goth.* in tom. ii. p. 300; the *Epistles* of Gregory of Tours, in tom. ii. p. 405; the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, in tom. ii. p. 213, 222; the *Frugones* of Fredegarus, in tom. ii. p. 402; *Isidore*, in *lib. 10*, in tom. ii. p. 41, 42, and *Baronius*, *lib. 20*, in tom. ii. p. 1429.

<sup>2</sup> The *Fasti* of Rome would naturally select a month, the name of whose sovereigns was very frequently repeated; that might explain the silence of *Constantinus* and *Valentinian*, the *Chronicon* of Hieronymus, and the *Fasti* in general, by the similar silence of *Maurus* bishop of Auxerre, who composed the *Fasti* of the Kingdom of Burgundy. If the existence of Gregory of Tours were not weighty and positive, it is in *lib. 10*, in tom. ii. p. 142, I could refer to *Sancti Clovis*, like *Sancti*, preserved the living title and honour of *Augustus*, (*Reg. Clovis*, tom. ii. p. 478, 479).

to claim the ancient prerogatives of that high office, they must have expired with the period of its annual duration. But the Romans were disposed to reserve, in the person of their master, that antique title which the emperors condescended to assume: the barbarian himself seemed to contract a sacred obligation to respect the majesty of the republic; and the successors of Theodosius, by soliciting his friendship, tacitly forgave, and almost ratified, the usurpation of Gaoth.

Twenty-five years after the death of Clovis, this important concession was more formally declared, in a treaty between his sons and the emperor Justinian. The Ostrogoths of Italy, unable to defend their distant acquisitions, had resigned to the Franks the cities of Arles and Marseilles; of Arles, still adorned with the seat of a pretorian prefect, and of Marseilles, enriched by the advantages of trade and navigation.<sup>24</sup> This transaction was confirmed by the imperial authority; and Justinian, generously yielding to the Franks the sovereignty of the countries beyond the Alps, which they already possessed, absolved the provincials from their allegiance; and established on a more lawful, though not more solid, foundation, the throne of the Merovingians.<sup>25</sup>

CHAP.  
XCVIII  
1877-1878

Findings  
illustrated  
of the  
French  
community  
in China,  
A. H. 1961

\* Under this Miscellaneous Group, Martialis will separate from the *Phaen.* group, since, as, here, *off.*, produce many, others, *de*, the *Quadr.* or female, coded to *Deus*, and the *Prima* was established in *Quadr.* See M. de Goguyer, *Musee de l'Academie*, tom. 1795, p. 111-114.

<sup>12</sup> The long-term lower tail risk for my regular investment strategy, as the counterpart to upper tail probabilities, was 24. This strong correlation

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

From that era, they enjoyed the right of celebrating at Aries the games of the Circus; and by a singular privilege, which was denied even to the Persian monarch, the gold coin, impressed with their name and image, obtained a legal currency in the empire.\* A Greek historian of that age has praised the private and public virtues of the Franks, with a partial enthusiasm, which cannot be sufficiently justified by their domestic annals.† He celebrates their politeness and urbanity, their regular government, and orthodox religion; and boldly asserts, that these barbarians could be distinguished only by their dress and language from the subjects of Rome. Perhaps the Franks already displayed the social disposition, and lively graces, which in every age have disguised their vices, and sometimes masked their intrinsic merit. Perhaps Agathas, and the Greeks, were dazzled by the rapid

of *Procopius*, *de Bell. Gothicis*, l. iii. cap. 38, *de Bello*, l. ii. c. 11. would choose rather to justify the Arab Invasions.

\* The Franks, who probably used the coins of Justin, Agathas, and Avars, borrowed the name of the Roman emperor of receiving their tribute, or giving to that prince of gold. But as the Franks could only acquire a limited possession of gold and silver, few shillings will be a sufficient valuation of their wealth of gold. It was the common standard of the barbarians, and measured every degree of civility and refinement. Twelve of their shillings made a solidus or shilling, the constant part of the ponderal and numerical system of money, which has been so strangely retained in modern France. See *Le Blanc Traité Numismatique des Monnoies de France*, p. 11, 12, 46.

† *Procopius*, *de Bello*, l. ii. c. 15. Gregory of Tours exhibits a very different picture. Perhaps it should not be said, within the same historical limits, to find more vice and less virtue. We are sometimes misled by the bloom of praise and the rays of ignorance.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
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progress of their arms, and splendour of their empire. Since the conquest of Burgundy, Gaul, except the Gothic province of Septimania, was subject, in its whole extent, to the sons of Clovis. They had extinguished the German kingdom of Thuringia, and their vague dominion penetrated beyond the Rhine, into the heart of their native forests. The Alemanni, and Bavarians, who had occupied the Roman provinces of Rhaetia and Noricum, to the south of the Danube, confessed themselves the humble vassals of the Franks; and the feeble barrier of the Alps was incapable of resisting their ambition. When the last survivor of the sons of Clovis united the inheritance and conquests of the Merovingians, his kingdom extended far beyond the limits of modern France. Yet modern France, such has been the progress of arts and policy, far surpasses in wealth, populousness, and power, the spacious but savage realms of Clotaire or Dagobert.\*

The Franks, or French, are the only people of Europe who can deduce a perpetual succession from the conquerors of the western empire. But their conquest of Gaul was followed by two centuries of anarchy, and ignorance. On the revival of learning, the students who had been formed in the schools of Athens and Rome, disdained their barbarian ancestors; and a long

national  
history—  
1787.

\* M. de Fournier has shown, in a correct and elegant dissertation, (*Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xix. p. 202, 229), the extent and increase of the French kingdom.



CHAP.  
XXVIII.  
THE ROMANS.

period elapsed before patient labour could provide the requisite materials to satisfy, or rather to excite, the curiosity of more enlightened times.\* At length the eye of criticism and philosophy was directed to the antiquities of France; but even philosophers have been tainted by the contagion of prejudice and passion. The most extreme and exclusive systems of the personal servitude of the Gauls, or of their voluntary and equal alliance with the Franks, have been rashly conceived, and obstinately defended; and the intemperate disputants have accused each other of conspiring against the prerogative of the crown, the dignity of the nobles, or the freedom of the people. Yet the sharp conflict has usefully exercised the various powers of learning and genius; and each antagonist, alternately vanquished and victorious, has extirpated some ancient errors, and established some interesting truths. An impartial stranger, instructed by their discoveries, their disputes, and even their faults, may describe, from the same original materials, the state of the Roman provincials, after Gaul had sub-

\* The *Abbe Dupin Histoire Composee*, tom. 4, p. 22-32, has truly and sensibly represented the slow progress of these studies; and he observes, that Gregory of Tours was only more pointed before the year 1120. According to the conjectures of Helmsius, *Opus*, tom. 4, l. 1, cap. 11, p. 149, &c. &c. Gregory derived with sedulousness and accuracy the rules of Gothic law, which were published by H. Sallier, London, 1769, &c. At present these laws, in so far as they relate to 600), the history of Gregory of Tours, and all the monuments of the Merovingian race, appear in a pure and perfect state, in the best and richest of the languages of France.



CHAP.  
XXVIII.  
*Charlemagne*

reformed several articles that appeared incompatible with Christianity: the Salic law was again amended by his sons; and at length, under the reign of Dagobert, the code was revised and promulgated in its actual form, one hundred years after the establishment of the French monarchy. Within the same period, the customs of the *Ripuarins* were transcribed and published: and Charlemagne himself, the legislator of his age and country, had accurately studied the *five national laws*, which still prevailed among the *Franks*.<sup>\*</sup> The same care was extended to their vassals; and the rude institutions of the *Alamanni* and *Bavarians* were diligently compiled and ratified by the supreme authority of the Merovingian kings. The *Frisians* and *Burgundians*, whose conquests in Gaul preceded those of the *Franks*, showed less impatience to attain one of the principal benefits of civilized society. Eurić was the first of the Gothic princes who expressed in writing the manners and customs of his people; and the composition of the Burgundian laws was a measure of policy rather than of justice; to alleviate the yoke, and regain the affections, of their Gallic subjects.<sup>†</sup> Thus, by a singular coincidence, the

\* Eginhard, de Vita Caroli Magni, c. 12, in tom. v. p. 166. He does not think, and with reason, that the Salic and the Ripuarian. The former descended from the Lombards, known to the Romans from 11, p. 141; and the latter might be traced from the same source to the Romans, 11, p. 142.

† Consult the account and preface prefixed to the *Edictum* Codon, in the fourth volume of the *Histoire de France*. The original

German framed their artless institutions, at a time when the elaborate system of Roman jurisprudence was finally consummated. In the *Salic laws*, and the *Pandects* of Justinian, we may compare the first rudiments, and the full maturity, of civil wisdom; and whatever prejudices may be suggested in favour of barbarism, our calmer reflections will ascribe to the Romans the superior advantages, not only of science and reason, but of humanity and justice. Yet the laws of the barbarians were adapted to their wants and desires, their occupations and their capacity; and they all contributed to preserve the peace, and promote the improvements, of the society for whose use they were originally established. The Merovingians, instead of imposing an uniform rule of conduct on their various subjects, permitted each people, and each family of their empire, freely to enjoy their domestic institutions; nor were the Romans excluded from the common benefits of this legal toleration.<sup>4</sup> The

process in the same way, expressed things in a language called the  
greater part of the people were hardly then the two halves of  
Greece at that time.

The difference between the two conditions, and therefore the extent of the potential, can easily be seen by plotting on the same scale the  $\alpha$  as determined, or expressed, on all the flasks, larger than of the 5th grade of dilution. These dilutions began with Agarose, in the sixth level of 1/1000, was tested by reproduction, not circulation, and there is another distinct feature. Namely, phenotypic inheritance of resistance did not occur within the same, it was not even continuous before pure strains formed, the form of  $\alpha$  2000. The results, proposed to illustrate the generality of the  $\alpha$ , as well as of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ .

\* This document is the common French-English version. Each of the words of a general conclusion protocol

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.  
LAW.

children embraced the *law* of their parents, the wife that of her husband, the freeman that of his patron; and, in all cases, where the parties were of different nations, the plaintiff, or accuser, was obliged to follow the tribunal of the defendant, who may always plead a judicial presumption of right or innocence. A more ample latitude was allowed, if every citizen, in the presence of the judge, might declare the law under which he desired to live, and the national society to which he chose to belong. Such an indulgence would abolish the partial distinctions of victory; and the Roman provincials might patiently acquiesce in the hardships of their condition: since it depended on themselves to assume the privilege, if they dared to assert the character, of free and warlike barbarians.\*

Summary  
of the  
Laws.

When justice inexorably requires the death of a murderer, each private citizen is fortified by the assurance, that the laws, the magistrate, and

given by Theodoric, the son of Clovis, and afterwards of the French, is the same, viz. p. 116. About the year 500.

\* This liberty of choice has been justly observed (Hart's Hist. Eng. I. c. 10. § 1. from a constitution of Lothair I. King of Lorraine, h. l. c. 10. § 1. in French, Lothaire, p. 515); though the remark is not exact and partial. From a violent swelling in the Nile, the Nile was about the year 646, nearly three f. p. 100. 1000 was overflowing, and the Nile, a barbarian only, and afterwards a war, (consequently a Roman, p. 101. 102. standing in the face of the Nile). I am aware to offend this important importance by observing that the Nile, which is reported in the historical copy of Theodoric, which is contained by the Royal and Westminster MSS. The Roman interpretation (Theodoric) is contained only by the MS. of Pothier, which Harleian published for edition. See the last original text of the Nile, viz. p. 117, 123, 126, 229.

CHAP.  
XXXIII.  
Continued.

the whole community, are the guardians of his personal safety. But in the loose society of the Germans, revenge was always honourable, and often meritorious: the independent warrior chastised, or vindicated, with his own hand, the injuries which he had offered, or received; and he had only to dread the resentment of the sons, and kinsmen, of the enemy, whom he had sacrificed to his selfish or angry passions. The magistrate, conscious of his weakness, interposed, not to punish, but to reconcile; and he was satisfied if he could persuade, or compel, the contending parties to pay, and to accept, the moderate fine which had been ascertained, as the price of blood.\* The fierce spirit of the Franks would have opposed a more rigorous sentence; the same fierceness despised these ineffectual restraints; and when their simple manners had been corrupted by the wealth of Gaul, the public peace was continually violated by acts of hasty or deliberate guilt. In every just government, the same penalty is inflicted, or at least is imposed, for the murder of a peasant, or a prince. But the national inequality established by the Franks, in their criminal proceedings, was the last insult

\* In the loose usage of Germany the price of murder was expiated by a pecuniary satisfaction to the family of the deceased. *Feudal Antiquities*, Hoeser, &c. &c. Hoeser, in his preface to the *Elements of the Germanic Law*, observes, that at Rome and Athens homicide was only punished with exile. At Rome, but exile was a second punishment for a criminal banished or driven.

CHAP. and abuse of conquest.\* In the calm moments  
XCVIII. of legislation they solemnly pronounced, that the  
life of a Roman was of smaller value than that of  
a barbarian. The *Arctation*,† a name expressive  
of the most illustrious birth or dignity among  
the Franks, was appraised at the sum of six  
hundred pieces of gold; while the noble provin-  
cial, who was admitted to the king's table, might  
be legally murdered at the expence of three hun-  
dred pieces. Two hundred were deemed suffi-  
cient for a Frank of ordinary condition; but the  
warrior Romans were exposed to disgrace and  
danger by a trifling compensation of one hun-  
dred, or even fifty, pieces of gold. Had these  
laws been regulated by any principle of equity or  
reason, the public protection should have sup-  
plied in just proportion the want of personal  
strength. But the legislator had weighed in the  
scale, not of justice, but of policy, the loss of a  
soldier against that of a slave; the head of an in-  
solent and rapacious barbarian was guarded by an  
heavy fine; and the slightest aid was afforded to

\* This proposition is found in the *Sachs*, tit. 50, § 1, tom. iv. p. 226, and the *Capitula*, lib. 10, c. 27, tom. ix. p. 231, 244; never but the latter does not distinguish any difference of Roman. Yet the notion of the clergy are placed above the Franks themselves, and the Burgundians and Alemanni between the Franks and the Romans.

† The *Arctation*, yet is more *Dignitas*, *virtus*, *honor*, *libertas*, &c. justly represent the first order of Franks; but it is a question whether this rank was personal, or hereditary. The *Alde de Mably* (tom. i. p. 274-287) is not displeased to insert the words of truth. (*Topika* I. xii. c. 23.) by stating the origin of French nobility from the reign of Clovis (I. i. c. 18. § 12).

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.  
continued

the most defenceless subjects. Time immensely alighted the pride of the conquerors, and the patience of the vanquished; and the boldest citizen was taught by experience, that he might suffer more injuries than he could inflict. As the manners of the Franks became less ferocious, their laws were rendered more severe; and the Merovingian kings attempted to imitate the impartial rigour of the Visigoths and Burgundians.\* Under the empire of Charlemagne, murder was universally punished with death; and the use of capital punishments has been liberally multiplied in the jurisprudence of modern Europe.†

The civil and military professions, which had been separated by Constantine, were again united by the barbarians. The harsh sound of the Teutonic appellations was mollified into the Latin titles of Duke, of Count, or of Prefect; and the same officer assumed, within his district, the command of the troops, and the administration of

Judgements  
of law.

\* See the Burgundian laws, (tit. 2. in tom. iv. p. 477); the Code of the Visigoths, (l. vi. tit. 1. in tom. iv. p. 384); and the *Penitential* law of Childebert, not at Paris, but most exactly of Autun, (tit. tom. iv. p. 418). Their punishment severity was confined to men and women. Children punished not only mothers but fathers; quarrels late less severely, and less frequently; and even the negligent judge was punished in the same sentence. The Visigoths considered an unprovoked wound to the family of his deceased parent, as equal to the future voluntary wildest punishment. (l. vi. tit. 2. in tom. iv. p. 418).

† See in the sixth volume of the works of M. de Mevius, the *Epistola* in *Epistola* Gallicana, &c. p. 5. N. 451, 452, 453, 454. The examples of these premature punishments for murder have been traced in Germany, as late as the sixteenth century.

EN 48. Justice.<sup>a</sup> But the fierce and illiterate chieftain  
 ENXVIII was seldom qualified to discharge the duties of a  
 judge, which require all the faculties of a philosophic mind, laboriously cultivated by experience and study; and his rude ignorance was compelled to embrace some simple, and visible, methods of ascertaining the cause of justice. In every religion, the Deity has been invoked to confirm the truth, or to punish the falsehood, of human testimony; but this powerful instrument was misapplied and abused, by the simplicity of the German legislators. The party accused might justify his innocence, by producing before their tribunal a number of friendly witnesses, who solemnly declared their belief, or assurance, that he was not guilty. According to the weight of the charge, this legal number of *compurgators* was multiplied: seventy-two voices were required to absolve an incendiary, or assassin: and when the chastity of a queen of France was suspected, three hundred gallant nobles swore, without hesitation, that the infant prince had been actually begotten by her deceased husband.<sup>b</sup> The sin and scandal of manifest and frequent perjuries engaged

<sup>a</sup> The whole subject of the German judges, and their jurisdiction, is extensively treated by Heineccius; (Elemen. Jur. Germ. l. iii. c. 8, § 12.) I cannot find any proof, that, under the Merovingian race, the wicket, or assizes, were known by the people.

<sup>b</sup> Goussier, *Temoi. l. vii. c. 8, § 10, p. 216.* Merovingian historians, (Goussier des Loix, l. xviii. c. 12.) that the *Salic law* did not admit these negative proofs as universally established in the French codes. Yet this ancient maxim, of *compurgatio*, who became the rule of the greatest of Charlemagne, was later followed the *Salic*

the magistrates to remove these dangerous temptations; and to supply the defects of human testimony, by the famous experiments of fire and water. These extraordinary trials were so capriciously contrived, that, in some cases, guilt, and innocence in others, could not be proved without the interposition of a miracle. Such miracles were readily provided by fraud and credulity; the most intricate causes were determined by this easy and infallible method; and the turbulent barbarians, who might have disdained the sentence of the magistrate, submissively acquiesced in the judgment of God.<sup>1</sup>

But the trials by single combat gradually obtained superior credit and authority, among a warlike people, who could not believe, that a brave man deserved to suffer, or that a coward deserved to live.<sup>2</sup> Both in civil and criminal proceedings, the plaintiff, or accuser, the defendant, or even the witness, were exposed to mortal challenge from the antagonist who was destitute of legal proofs; and it was incumbent on them either to desert their cause, or publicly to maintain their honour, in the lists of battle. They fought either on foot or on horseback,

<sup>1</sup> Metastaseus, in the *Scenofurca* of Dury, has given two descriptions of these trials, under the judgment of God. It was supposed, that fire would not burn the innocent; and that the pure elements of water would not kill the guilty to their full advantage.

<sup>2</sup> Montaigne (*Essais* des Loix, l. xviij, c. 17) has recommended to England and France "le jugement du point de son peer," in the subject of judicial combats. He follows this strange maxim from the age of darkness to that of the Lewis; and the philosopher is sometimes lost in the legal antiquation.

CHAP. according to the custom of their nation;\* and the  
 XXXVII. decision of the sword, or lance, was ratified by  
 the sanction of heaven, of the judge, and of the  
 people. This sanguinary law was introduced into  
 Gaul by the Burgundians; and their legislator  
 Gundobald<sup>†</sup> condescended to answer the com-  
 plaints and objections of his subject Avitus.  
 "Is it not true," said the king of Burgundy to  
 the bishop, "that the event of national wars,  
 "and private combats, is directed by the judg-  
 "ment of God; and that his providence awards  
 "the victory to the juster cause?" By such pre-  
 vailing arguments, the absurd and cruel practice  
 of judicial duels, which had been peculiar to  
 some tribes of Germany, was propagated and  
 established in all the monarchies of Europe, from  
 Sicily to the Baltic. At the end of ten cen-  
 turies, the reign of legal violence was not totally  
 extinguished: and the ineffectual censures of  
 saints, of popes, and of synods, may seem to  
 prove, that the influence of superstition is weak-  
 ened by its unnatural alliance with reason and

\* As a memorable hint at *Alibi-Chapelle*, *ib.* D. 2205, before the  
 emperor Lewis the Pious, the biographer observes, *secundum legem  
 populorum, ut patet quia utroque Gallorum erant, equorum pugna magni-  
 tudine est*, (VII. *l.* 40, *l.* 41, in *trans. ed.* p. 142). *Expositio Syno-  
 dorum*, *et. al.* 1001-1028, in *trans. ed.* p. 25-26, who describes the duel  
 as *adversus deum*, the use of fighting on horseback, which was unknown  
 to the Franks.

† In his original edict, published at Lyons, (A. D. 501), Gundobald  
 condemns and prohibits the use of judicial combat, (*Cap. Burgun-  
 dorum* III. 175, in *trans. ed.* p. 261, 142). Three hundred years after-  
 wards, Agilnoth, bishop of Lyons, solicited Lewis the Pious to abolish  
 the law of an armed priest, *ib.* *trans. ed.* p. 261-262. He relates the  
 conversation of Gundobald and Avitus.

humanity. The tribunals were stained with the blood, perhaps, of innocent and respectable citizens; the law, which now favours the rich, then yielded to the strong; and the old, the feeble, and the infirm, were condemned, either to renounce their fairest claims and possessions, to sustain the dangers of an unequal conflict,\* or to trust the doubtful aid of a mercenary claspion. This oppressive jurisprudence was imposed on the provincials of Gaul, who complained of any injuries in their persons and property. Whatever might be the strength, or courage, of individuals, the victorious barbarians excelled in the love and exercise of arms: and the vanquished Roman was unjustly summoned to repeat, in his own person, the bloody contest, which had been already decided against his country.<sup>†</sup>

A devouring host of one hundred and twenty thousand Germans had formerly passed the Rhine under the command of Ariovistus. One third

Division of  
lands by  
the barbarians.

\* "Averit, dicit Agilardus, ut non solum virescens viribus, sed etiam inditit et cunctis lacrimis et pueris, etiam per viciniam" — *id est*. Quibus heretice ostenditque evaditque humilitas huiusmodi in vestibus ac pueris evaditque humilitatem. "Iste a quodam aristocrate, se supponit the legi pueris et huiusmodi pueris."

† Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Loix*, liv. xiv, c. 14), who understands why the political system was adopted by the Burgundians, Ripuarians, Alamanni, Saxons, Lombards, Thuringians, Franks, and Saxons; is satisfied that Agilard seems to pronounce the restrictions that it was not allowed by the Salic law. Yet the same system, at least in cases of tribute, is mentioned by Arnoldus Magellus, lib. iii. c. 14, in book vi. p. 84, and the anonymous biographer of Lewis the Pious, lib. 46 in book vi. p. 112, at the "and antiqua Francorum, et cunctis Francorum" &c. expression too general to exclude the subject of these taxes.



CHAP.  
XXXVIII.  
—————

part of the fertile lands of the Sequani was appropriated to their use: and the conqueror soon repeated his oppressive demand of another third, for the accommodation of a new colony of twenty-four thousand barbarians, whom he had invited to share the rich harvest of Gaul.<sup>3</sup> At the distance of five hundred years, the Visigoths and Burgundians, who revenged the defeat of Ariovistus, usurped the same unequal proportion of *two thirds* of the subject lands. But this distribution, instead of spreading over the province, may be reasonably confined to the peculiar districts where the victorious people had been planted by their own choice, or by the policy of their leader. In these districts, each barbarian was connected by the ties of hospitality with some Roman provincial. To this unwelcome guest, the proprietor was compelled to abandon two thirds of his patrimony: but the German, a shepherd, and a hunter, might sometimes content himself with a spacious range of wood and pasture, and resign the smallest, though most valuable, portion, to the toil of the industrious husbandman. The silence of ancient and au-

<sup>3</sup> Caes. de Bell. Gall. l. 1, c. 31, to l. 4, p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> The obscure limits of a division of lands sometimes occurred in the laws of the Burgundians, but not. N<sup>o</sup>. 1, l. 18. l. 19. l. 20. p. 273, 272, and Visigoths, l. 1, tit. 2, N<sup>o</sup>. 8, §. 16, in l. 1, p. 184, 188, 430, are slightly explained by the president Monodius. Hægerius (l. 1, c. 1, §. 7, 8, 9). I shall only add, that, among the Goths, the division seems to have been determined by the judgment of the neighbourhood; that the barbarians frequently usurped the remaining third; and that the Romans might remove their rights, where they were barred by a prescription of 500 years.

thentic testimony has encouraged an opinion, that the rapine of the *Franks* was not moderated, or disguised, by the forms of a legal division; that they dispersed themselves over the provinces of Gaul, without order or controul; and that each victorious robber, according to his wants, his avarice, and his strength, measured with his sword the extent of his new inheritance. At a distance from their sovereign, the barbarians might indeed be tempted to exercise such arbitrary depredation; but the firm and artful policy of Clovis must curb a licentious spirit, which would aggravate the misery of the vanquished, whilst it corrupted the union and discipline of the conquerors. The memorable vase of Soissons is a monument, and a pledge, of the regular distribution of the Gallic spoils. It was the duty, and the interest, of Clovis, to provide rewards for a successful army, and settlements for a numerous people; without inflicting any wanton or superfluous injuries, on the loyal catholics of Gaul. The ample fund, which he might lawfully acquire, of the imperial patrimony, vacant lands, and Gothic usurpations, would diminish the cruel necessity of seizure and confiscation; and the humble provincials would more patiently acquiesce in the equal and regular distribution of their loot.\*

\* It is singular enough, that the *président de Montesquieu*, (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xiii. c. 7), and the *Abbé de Mably*, (*Observations*, tom. i. p. 21, 22), agree in this strange supposition of arbitrary and private rapine. The *Comte de Boulainvilliers* (*État de la France*, tom. i. p. 22, 23) shows a strong understanding, through a cloud of ignorance and prejudice.

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

*Domain  
and inter-  
ests of the  
Merovingians.*

The wealth of the Merovingian princes consisted in their extensive domain. After the conquest of Gaul, they still delighted in the rustic simplicity of their ancestors; the cities were abandoned to solitude and decay; and their coins, their charters, and their synods, are still inscribed with the names of the villas, or rural palaces, in which they successively resided. One hundred and sixty of these palaces, a title which need not excite any unreasonable ideas of art or luxury, were scattered through the provinces of their kingdom; and if some might claim the honours of a fortress, the far greater part could be esteemed only in the light of profitable farms. The mansion of the long-haired kings was surrounded with convenient yards, and stables, for the cattle and the poultry; the garden was planted with useful vegetables; the various trades, the labours of agriculture, and even the arts of hunting and fishing, were exercised by servile hands, for the amusement of the sovereign; his magazines were filled with corn and wine, either for sale or consumption; and the whole administration was conducted by the strictest maxims of private economy.\* This ample patrimony was appropriated to supply

\* See the rustic edicts, or *édits ruraux*, of Charlemagne, which contain several distinct and liberal regulations of this great monarch, (see tom. v. p. 431-437). He required an account of the lands and stock of the peasantry; allowed his fish to be sold; and positively directs, that the larger villas (*Capitaneæ*) shall maintain not hundred head and thirty grooms; and the smaller (*Mansuete*) fifty head and twelve grooms. Maittaire (*de Re Diplomatiâ*) has investigated the extent, the number, and the situation of the Merovingian villas.

the hospitable plenty of Clovis, and his successors: and to reward the fidelity of their brave companions, who, both in peace and war, were devoted to their personal service. Instead of an horse, or a suit of armour, each companion, according to his rank, or merit, or favour, was invested with a *benefice*, the primitive name, and most simple form, of the feudal possessions. These gifts might be resumed at the pleasure of the sovereign; and his feeble prerogative derived some support from the influence of his liberality. But this dependant tenure was gradually abolished\* by the independent and rapacious nobles of France, who established the perpetual property, and hereditary succession, of their benefices; a revolution salutary to the earth, which had been injured, or neglected, by its precarious masters.† Besides these royal and beneficiary estates, a large proportion had been assigned, in the division of Gaul, of *allodial* and *Salic* lands: they were exempt from tribute, and the Salic lands were equally shared among the male descendants of the Franks.‡

\* From a passage of the Burgundian law, tit. 1, §. 4, in tom. iv. p. 137, it is evident, that a descendant was obliged to pay to his lord the lands which his father had received from the royal family of Gundobad. The Burgundians would surely maintain these privileges, and their example might encourage the barons of France.

† The revocation of the benefices and fiefs are easily lost by the *Abbe de Mabry*. His severe discussion of these gives him a merit in which even Montesquieu is a stranger.

‡ See the same law, tit. lvi. in tom. iv. p. 143. The origin and nature of these Salic lands, which in times of aggrandisement were partially converted, now applied to most landed and regalian estates.

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XXXVIII.

PEVENS  
accepts  
them.

In the bloody discord, and silent decay of the Merovingian line, a new order of tyrants arose in the provinces, who, under the appellation of *Seniors*, or *Lords*, usurped a right to govern, and a license to oppress, the subjects of their peculiar territory. Their ambition might be checked by the hostile resistance of an equal; but the laws were extinguished; and the sacrilegious barbarians, who dared to provide the vengeance of a saint or bishop,\* would seldom respect the landmarks of a profane and defenceless neighbour. The common, or public, rights of nature, such as they had always been deemed by the Roman jurisprudence,† were severely restrained by the German conquerors, whose amusement, or rather passion, was the exercise of hunting. The vague dominion, which MAX has assumed over the wild inhabitants of the earth, the air, and the waters, was confined to some fortunate individuals of the human species. Gaul was again overspread with woods; and the animals, who were reserved for the use, or pleasure, of the lord, might ravage, with impunity, the fields of his industrious vassals. The chase was the sacred privilege of the nobles, and their domestic servants. Plebeian transgressors were

\* Many of the two hundred and six miracles of St. Martin (see *Touss.* in *Monach. Bibliothec. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 896-977) were repeatedly performed in parish villages. Another has even, sometimes the bishop of Tournay, presiding, celebrated, after relating how some horses ran mad, that had been tainted with a mortal poison.

† *History Elementar. Jur. German.* l. ii. p. 1. 79. 8.

legally chastised with stripes and imprisonment;<sup>8</sup> but in an age which admitted a slight compensation for the life of a citizen, it was a capital crime to destroy a stag or a wild bull within the precincts of the royal forests.<sup>9</sup>

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XXVIII.

Personal  
servitude.

According to the maxims of ancient war, the conqueror became the lawful master of the country whom he had subdued and spared:<sup>10</sup> and the fruitful cause of personal slavery, which had been almost suppressed by the peaceful sovereignty of Rome, was again revived and multiplied by the perpetual hostilities of the independent barbarians. The Goth, the Burgundian, or the Frank, who returned from a successful expedition, dragged after him a long train of sheep, of oxen, and of human captives, whom he treated with the same brutal contempt. The youths of an elegant form

<sup>8</sup> *Ammon, bishop of Orleans*, (A. D. 513-525; *Cass. Hist. Lorraine*, p. 443), renews the legal tyranny of the nobles. *Tu legi, quos erant homines non alios, sed deos in commune universos ad utendum concessit, proprios a particularibus appellavit, singulorum, utque deinde, in multis sua potestate. Hoc enim quod firmiter, hoc sicut in fidei iure pro condicione. De Institutione Legum, l. ii. c. 23, apud Thomassin, *Discours de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 238.*

<sup>9</sup> On a more populous, *Chauli*, a chamberlain of *Clotaire*, king of Burgundy, was accused in 524, (long *Thom. l. ii. c. 10*, in tom. ii. p. 235). *John of Salisbury* (*Polit. l. i. c. 16*) asserts the rights of nature, and exposes the cruel practice of the seventh century. See *Heimovius, Elem. Jur. Civ. l. ii. p. 1, N. 51-57*.

<sup>10</sup> The custom of enslaving prisoners of war was hardly extinguished in the thirteenth century, by the prevailing influence of Christianity; but it might be proved, from frequent passages of Gregory of Tours, &c. that it was practised without remorse, under the Merovingian race; and even *Gregory himself*, the *Abbe of St. Evreux*, l. iii. c. 17, as well as his successor, *Balthazar*, have witnessed its prevalence with the loss of nature and reason.

CHAP. and ingenious aspect, were set apart for the do-  
 XXXVIII. mestic service: a doubtful situation, which alter-  
 nately exposed them to the favourable, or cruel,  
 impulse of passion. The useful mechanics and  
 servants (smiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers,  
 cooks, gardeners, dyers, and workmen in gold and  
 silver, &c.) employed their skill for the use, or  
 profit, of their master. But the Roman captives  
 who were destitute of art, but capable of labour,  
 were condemned, without regard to their former  
 rank, to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands,  
 of the barbarians. The number of the hereditary  
 bondsmen, who were attached to the Gallic estates,  
 was continually increased by new supplies; and  
 the servile people, according to the situation and  
 temper of their lords, was sometimes raised by  
 precarious indulgence, and more frequently de-  
 pressed by capricious despotism.\* An absolute  
 power of life and death was exercised by these  
 lords: and when they married their daughters, a  
 train of useful servants, chained on the waggons  
 to prevent their escape, was sent as a nuptial pre-  
 sent into a distant country.† The majesty of the  
 Roman laws protected the liberty of each citizen  
 against the rash effects of his own distress, or de-

\* The state, condition, &c. of the Germans, Danes, and Salla-  
 quons, during the middle ages, are explained by Herodotus (Hæ-  
 most, *Jus. Germ.* l. i, N. 24-31); Munkelt (*Historia*, tom. 2, p. 40);  
 Hæverig (*Wissen, und von Jerns*), and the *Annales de Metz*, (Göthe-  
 stadt, tom. 2, p. 5, &c. p. 237, &c.).

† Gregory of Tours (l. vi, c. 32, in tom. II, p. 288) relates a cir-  
 cumstantial story, in which Clovis only allowed the previous rights  
 of a master. Many families, which belonged to his father's friends in  
 the neighbourhood of Paris, were literally sent away into Spain.

pair. But the subjects of the Merovingian kings might alienate their personal freedom; and this act of legal suicide, which was familiarly practised, is expressed in terms most disgraceful and afflicting to the dignity of human nature.\* The example of the poor, who purchased life by the sacrifice of all that can render life desirable, was gradually imitated by the feeble and the devout, who, in times of public disorder, pusillanimously crowded to shelter themselves under the battlements of a powerful chief, and around the shrine of a popular saint. Their submission was accepted by these temporal, or spiritual, patrons; and the hasty transaction irreversibly fixed their own condition, and that of their latest posterity. From the reign of Clovis, during five successive centuries, the laws and manners of Gaul uniformly tended to promote the increase, and to confirm the duration, of personal servitude. Time and violence almost obliterated the intermediate ranks of society; and left an obscure and narrow interval between the noble and the slave. This arbitrary and recent division has been transformed by pride and prejudice into a national distinction, universally established by the arms and the laws of the Merovingians. The nobles, who claimed their genuine, or fabulous, descent, from the in-

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—————

\* *Quantum liberos veli quatuordecim annorum disceptatione  
convenit vel servitutem, vel quod velis placuit ut eis daretur*  
[Gloss. Freng. l. 2, c. 24, in tom. 11, p. 221. The *Formula of Li-*  
*ndesburge*, p. 207, and that of Angoul. 79, 80, are to the same  
effect. Gregory of Tours, II, c. 45, in tom. 4, p. 311) speaks  
of many persons, who sold themselves by bond, in a great number.

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XXXVII.

Example  
of Au-  
vergne.

dependent and victorious Franks, have asserted, and showed, the indefensible right of conquest, over a prostrate crowd of slaves and plebeians, to whom they imputed the imaginary disgrace of a Gallic, or Roman, extraction.

The general state and revolutions of *France*, a name which was imposed by the conquerors, may be illustrated by the particular example of a province, a diocesis, or a senatorial family. Auvergne had formerly maintained a just pre-eminence among the independent states and cities of Gaul. The brave and numerous inhabitants displayed a singular trophy; the sword of Caesar himself, which he had lost when he was repulsed before the walls of Gergovia.<sup>a</sup> As the common offspring of Teu, they claimed a fraternal alliance with the Romans;<sup>b</sup> and if each province had imitated the courage and loyalty of Auvergne, the fall of the western empire might have been prevented, or delayed. They firmly maintained the fidelity which they had reluctantly sworn to the Visigoths; but when their bravest nobles had fallen in the battle of Poitiers, they accepted, without resistance, a victorious and catholic sovereign. This

<sup>a</sup> When Caesar was ill, he besieged, I think, in Carni, in 56, b. c. p. 407, and he seized his unexpected siege of Gergovia, with the intention that we might expect from a great man, as whose victory was doubtful. He acknowledges, however, that he was obliged to find out the position and never found it out, see Bell. Gallic. l. vi. c. 33-35, in vol. i. p. 375-378.

<sup>b</sup> Aulus in question before I have done, is singular in that people's company, (Bell. Gallic. l. vi. epist. 7, in Ann. l. vi. 799.) I am not informed of the degree and circumstances of the Aulus people.

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continued.

easy and valuable conquest was achieved, and possessed, by Theodoric, the eldest son of Clovis: but the remote province was separated from his Austrasian dominions, by the intermediate kingdoms of Soissons, Paris, and Orléans, which formed, after their father's death, the inheritance of his three brothers. The king of Paris, Childibert, was tempted by the neighbourhood and beauty of Auvergne.<sup>a</sup> The upper country, which rises towards the south into the mountains of the Cevennes, presented a rich and various prospect of woods and pastures: the sides of the hills were clothed with vines: and each eminence was crowned with a villa or castle. In the Lower Auvergne, the river Allier flows through the fair and spacious plain of Limagne; and the inexhaustible fertility of the soil supplied, and still supplies, without any interval of repose, the constant repetition of the same harvests.<sup>b</sup> On the false report that their lawful sovereign had been slain in Germany, the city and diocese of Auvergne were betrayed by the grandson of Sidonius Apollinarius. Childibert enjoyed this clandestine victory: and

<sup>a</sup> Either the first, or second, partition among the sons of Clovis, had given Berry to Childibert; *Orig. Tertia. Lib. ii. c. 17. in tom. 4. p. 1121.* Valois (said by *Auvergne. Limagne. plain. fertile. Limagne. great. refugees. other. words. in tom. 4. lib. ii. c. 17. p. 1121.*) The face of the country was extended by a third day, when the king of France made his entry into Auvergne.

<sup>b</sup> For the description of Auvergne, see *Valesius. lib. ii. c. 17. in tom. 4. p. 1121.* with the notes of *Forster and Schmidt. (p. 117 and 118 of their respective editions.) Bede. lib. ii. c. 12. p. 112-113.* and the *Atlas de la Loiraine. (Compendium de la France, tom. 4. p. 112-113.)*

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the free subject of Theodoric threatened to desert his standard, is he indulged his private resentment, while the nation was engaged in the Burgundian war. But the Franks of Austrasia soon yielded to the persuasive eloquence of their king. "Follow me," said Theodoric, "into Auvergne:—I will lead you into a province, where you may acquire gold, silver, slaves, cattle, and precious apparel, to the full extent of your wishes. I repeat my promise; I give you the people, and their wealth, as your prey; and you may transport them at pleasure into your own country." By the execution of this promise, Theodoric justly forfeited the allegiance of a people, whom he devoted to destruction. His troops, reinforced by the fiercest barbarians of Germany,\* spread desolation over the fruitful face of Auvergne; and two places only, a strong castle, and a holy shrine, were saved, or redeemed, from their licentious fury. The castle of Merolles<sup>†</sup> was seated on a lofty rock, which rose an hundred feet above the surface of the plain; and a large reservoir of fresh water was inclosed, with some arable lands, with-

\* *Transit gentium, quæ de castris Rhodanensibus parte victa, expulsi sunt pariter, trans Rhodanem in partem australem.* In 1295, was the name of another king of Austrasia, (A. D. 574), and the country which his troops committed to the neighbourhood of Paris.

† From the name and situation, the Benedictine editors of Gregory of Tours (lib. viii. c. 124.) have bred the notion of a place named *Castrum Merolles*, two miles from Mairon, in the Upper Auvergne. In this description, I imagine *Merolles* is a word extra, the two propositions are improperly connected by *et*; Gregory, or his transcribers, and the sense must always stick.

in the circle of its fortifications. The Franks beheld with envy and despair, this impregnable fortress; but they surprised a party of fifty stragglers; and, as they were oppressed by the number of their captives, they fixed, at a trifling ransom, the alternative of life or death for these wretched victims, whom the cruel barbarians were prepared to massacre on the refusal of the garrison. Another detachment penetrated as far as Brivas, or Brionde, where the inhabitants, with their valuable effects, had taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Julian. The doors of the church resisted the assault; but a daring soldier entered through a window of the choir, and opened a passage to his companions. The clergy and people, the sacred and the profane spoils, were rudely torn from the altar, and the sacrilegious division was made at a small distance from the town of Brionde. But this act of impiety was severely chastised by the devout son of Clovis. He punished with death the most atrocious offenders; left their secret accomplices to the vengeance of St. Julian; released the captives; restored the plunder; and extended the rights of sanctuary, five miles round the sepulchre of the holy martyr.\*

Before the Austrasian army retreated from Augervien, Theodoric exacted some pledges of the

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XXXVII.

Story of  
Attila.

\* See these resolutions, and story of Attila, in Gregory of Tours, *l. 4. c. 37.* in *Saint. 4.* p. 122, and *l. 4. c. 38. 39.* p. 123, 127. In *Monsieur de Julan. v. 17.* in *Saint. 4.* p. 403. He frequently betrays his extraordinary attention to an early history.

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future loyalty of a people, whose just hatred could be restrained only by their fear. A select band of noble youths, the sons of the principal senators, was delivered to the conqueror, as the hostages of the faith of Childebert, and of their countrymen. On the first rumour of war, or conspiracy, these guiltless youths were reduced to a state of servitude; and one of them, Attalus,<sup>\*</sup> whose adventures are more particularly related, kept his master's horses in the diocese of Troyes. After a painful search, he was discovered, in this unworthy occupation, by the emissaries of his grandfather, Gregory bishop of Langres; but his offers of ransom were sternly rejected by the avarice of the barbarian, who required an exorbitant sum of ten pounds of gold for the freedom of his noble captive. His deliverance was effected by the hardy stratagem of Leo, a slave belonging to the kitchens of the bishop of Langres.<sup>†</sup> An unknown agent easily

\* The story of Attalus is related by Gregory of Tours, *Ch. III. c. 16*, in tom. II. p. 103-104. His uncle, the E. Brevint, conducted this Attalus, who was a youth (young in the year 522), with a friend of his uncle of the same name, who was cousin of Aetius, *lib. iv. c. 17*, p. 145 before. Such an error, which cannot be imputed to Gregory, is excused, in some degree, by its very magnitude.

† This Gregory, the great grandfather of Gregory of Tours, *ib. tom. II. p. 107, 120*, had thirty-two removals of which he passed forty as count of Autun, and thirty-two as bishop of Langres. According to the poet Fortunatus, he displayed equal merit in those different stations.

*Ubiq. utiq.q. ducimus prope patrum.*

*Notabile proci, non super hunc domus.*

*Abbas ante domum, deus plus hunc sacerdos.*

*Quos domus judas, deus domus patris.*

introduced him into the same family. The barbarian purchased Leo for the price of twelve pieces of gold; and was pleased to learn, that he was deeply skilled in the luxury of an episcopal table. "Next Sunday," said the Frank, "I shall invite my neighbours and kinsmen. Exert thy art, and force them to confess, that they have never seen, or tasted, such an entertainment, even in the king's house." Leo assured him, that if he would provide a sufficient quantity of poultry, his wishes should be satisfied. The master, who already aspired to the merit of elegant hospitality, assumed, as his own, the praise which the voracious guests unanimously bestowed on his cook; and the dexterous Leo insensibly acquired the trust and management of his household. After the patient expectation of a whole year, he cautiously whispered his design to Attalus, and exhorted him to prepare for flight in the ensuing night. At the hour of midnight, the intemperate guests retired from table; and the Frank's son-in-law, whom Leo attended to his apartment with a nocturnal potation, condescended to jest on the facility with which he might betray his trust. The intrepid slave, after sustaining this dangerous rillery, entered his master's bed-chamber; removed his spear and shield; silently drew the fleetest horses from the stable; unlatched the ponderous gates; and exhorted Attalus to save his life and liberty by incessant diligence. Their apprehensions urged them to leave their horses on the banks of the

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 Meuse? they swam the river, wandered three days in the adjacent forest, and subsisted only by the accidental discovery of a wild plum-tree. As they lay concealed in a dark thicket, they heard the noise of horses; they were terrified by the angry countenance of their master, and they anxiously listened to his declaration, that, if he could seize the guilty fugitives, one of them he would cut in pieces with his sword, and would expose the other on a gibbet. At length, Attalus, and his faithful Leo, reached the friendly habitation of a presbyter of Rheims, who recruited their fainting strength with bread and wine, concealed them from the search of their enemy, and safely conducted them, beyond the limits of the Austrasian kingdom, to the episcopal palace of Langres. Gregory embraced his grandson with tears of joy, gratefully delivered Leo, with his whole family, from the yoke of servitude, and bestowed on him the property of a farm, where he might end his days in happiness and freedom. Perhaps this singular adventure, which is marked with so many circumstances of truth and nature, was related by Attalus himself, to his cousin, or nephew, the first historian of the Franks. Gregory of Tours\* was born

\* A. M. de Valpit, and the P. Bouchet, are determined to change the *Abbeville* of the text into *Mons*, it becomes too ill-judged by the observation. Yet, after some examination of the topography, I could detect no common reading.

\* The parents of Gregory (Gregorius Flavianus Gregorius) were of noble extraction, (nobilitas), — (Glossary), and they possessed large estates (largeas) both in Austrasia and Burgundy. He was

about sixty years after the death of Sidonius Apollinarius; and their situation was almost similar, since each of them was a native of Auvergne, a senator, and a bishop. The difference of their style and sentiments may, therefore, express the decay of Gaul; and clearly ascertain how much, in so short a space, the human mind had lost of its energy and refinement.\*

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XXVIII.  
AUGUSTINUS.

Privileges  
of the Ro-  
mans of  
Gaul.

We are now qualified to despise the opposite, and, perhaps, artful, misrepresentations, which have softened, or exaggerated, the oppression of the Romans of Gaul under the reign of the Merovingians. The conquerors never promulgated any universal edict of servitude, or confiscation; but a degenerate people, who excused their weakness by the specious names of politeness and peace, was exposed to the arms and laws of the ferocious barbarians, who contemptuously insulted their possessions, their freedom, and their safety. Their personal injuries were partial and irregular; but the great body of the Romans

lived to the year 529, was persecuted bishop of Tourn in 530, and died in 542, or 551, soon after he had recomposed his library. See his life by Eusebius of Caesarea, in Euseb. ii. p. 128-133, and a new Life in the *Mémorial de l'Académie*, de l'ann. 1743, p. 428-437.

\* Desiderius eripit omnia publica privataque omnia ecclesiastica libertatem cultum litterarum, &c. de populo in rom. ii. p. 137, is the complaint of Gregory himself, which he fully settles by his own work. His style is equally devoid of elegance and simplicity. In a manuscript edition he was considered a stranger to his own age and country; and in a private work which has just been printed (see post) he has quoted almost every thing that properly belongs to him. I have instantly corrected, by a painful perusal, the right of producing this unfortunate edition.

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survived the revolution, and still preserved the property, and privileges, of citizens. A large portion of their lands was exacted for the use of the Franks: but they enjoyed the remainder, exempt from tribute;\* and the same irresistible violence which swept away the arts and manufactures of Gaul, destroyed the elaborate and expensive system of imperial despotism. The provincials must frequently deplore the savage jurisprudence of the Salic or Ripuarian laws; but their private life, in the important concerns of marriage, testaments, or inheritance, was still regulated by the Theodosian Code; and a discontented Roman might freely aspire, or descend, to the character and title of a barbarian. The honours of the state were accessible to his ambition: the education and temper of the Romans more peculiarly qualified them for the offices of civil government; and, as soon as emulation had rekindled their military ardour, they were permitted to march in the ranks, or even at the head, of the victorious Germans. I shall not attempt to enumerate the generals and magistrates, whose names<sup>a</sup> attest the liberal policy

\* *The Abbé de Mably* (tom. 3, p. 317-327) has diligently examined this opinion of the president de Montesquieu; (*Esprit des Loix*, l. 22, c. 17).

<sup>a</sup> See *Diction. Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française*, tom. 11, l. 2, p. 2, 7, 10. The French antiquaries were told on a principle, that the Romans and Barbarians may be distinguished by their names. Their names undoubtedly bear a reasonable presumption; but Mr. Hadding Gregory of Tours, I have observed (*Constitution, de l'antiquité des Romains*, extrême, c. 21, l. 11, he cites p. 377; and *l'antiquité des Romains*, c. 21, l. 22, p. 387).

of the Merovingians. The supreme command of Burgundy, with the title of Patrician, was successively intrusted to the three Romans; and the last, and most powerful, Mummolus,<sup>1</sup> who alternately saved and disturbed the monarchy, had supplanted his father in the station of count of Arvern, and left a treasure of thirty talents of gold, and two hundred and fifty talents of silver. The fierce and illiterate barbarians were excluded, during several generations, from the dignities, and even from the orders, of the church.\* The clergy of Gaul consisted almost entirely of native provincials; the haughty Franks fell prostrate at the feet of their subjects, who were dignified with the episcopal character; and the power and riches which had been lost in war, were insensibly recovered by superstition.\* In all temporal affairs, the Theodosian Code was the universal law of the clergy; but the barbaric jurisprudence had liberally provided for their personal safety: a sub-deacon was equivalent to two Franks; the *antreusion*, and priest, were held in similar estimation; and the life of a bishop was appreciated far above the common

<sup>1</sup> Flavius Mummolus is repeatedly mentioned by Gregory of Tours, from the fourth to 47, p. 224; to the seventh, viz. 44, p. 240; books. The pronunciation by *Mumolus* is singular enough; but if Gregory intended any meaning in that obscure word, the treasure of Mummolus must have exceeded 100,000 sterling.

\* See Flavius, *Monachi* iv, for 21 Huns and 2000 monks.

\* The bishop of Tours himself has recorded the conquest of Gallia, the grandson of Clovis. Ever proper to mention Flavius names; even public mention of evidence were translate; until positive and old Flavius report, (i. vi, s. 44, in tom. ii, p. 271.)

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standard, at the price of nine hundred pieces of gold.\* The Romans communicated to their conquerors the use of the Christian religion and Latin language: but their language and their religion had alike degenerated from the simple purity of the Augustan, and Apostolic, age. The progress of superstition and barbarism was rapid and universal: the worship of the saints concealed from vulgar eyes the God of the Christians; and the rustic dialect of peasants and soldiers was corrupted by a Teutonic idiom and pronunciation. Yet such intercourse of sacred and social communion eradicated the distinctions of birth and victory: and the nations of Gaul were gradually confounded under the name and government of the Franks.

Assembly  
of the  
Franks.

The Franks, after they mingled with their Gallic subjects, might have imported the most valuable of human gifts, a spirit, and system, of constitutional liberty. Under a king hereditary but limited, the chiefs and counsellors

\* See the *Wigornian Code*, (iii.) c. lxxv. p. 341. The king has thus his grounds for the safety of the clergy, and we might suppose, in the behalf of the more civilized tribes, that they had no interest such an imposition as the number of a priest. Yet Frodoard, archbishop of Reims, was astonished by the order of Queen Fredegunda to have the altar, *Org. Tacet*, &c. v. xi. in art. 6. p. 204.

\* M. Roussier observes, in *L'Assemblée des francs*, tom. viii. p. 284-285, has preserved the *Lois Romaines Romaines*, which, through the medium of the *Romans*, has gradually been polished in the moral sense of the French language. Under the Carlovingian race, the kings and nobles of France still understood the dialect of their German ancestors.

might have debated, at Paris, in the palace of the  
 the Cæsars: the adjacent field, where the em-  
 perors reviewed their mercenary legions, would  
 have admitted the legislative assembly of freemen  
 and warriors; and the rude model, which had  
 been sketched in the woods of Germany,\*  
 might have been polished and improved by the  
 civil wisdom of the Romans. But the careless  
 barbarians, secure of their personal independence,  
 disdained the labour of government: the annual  
 assemblies of the month of March were silently  
 abolished; and this nation was separated, and al-  
 most dissolved, by the conquest of Gaul.<sup>†</sup> The  
 monarchy was left without any regular establish-  
 ment of justice, of arms, or of revenue. The  
 successors of Clovis wanted resolution to assume,  
 or strength to exercise, the legislative and exe-  
 cutive powers, which the people had abdicated:  
 the royal prerogative was distinguished only by a  
 more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and  
 the love of freedom, so often invigorated and  
 disgraced by private ambition, was reduced,  
 among the licentious Franks, to the contempt  
 of order, and the desire of impunity. Seventy-  
 five years after the death of Clovis, his grandson,  
 Gontran, king of Burgundy, sent an army to  
 invade the Gothic possessions of Septimania, or

\* *Ce bas-relief est dans le musée de Berlin.* *Monumens, Recueil des Laitz, t. vi, p. 12.*

† *See also M. de Mably, Observations, Art. 1er, p. 22-24.* It should seem, that the institution of national assemblies, which are spread over the French nation, have never been adopted in its history.



nation to expose, by their intemperate vices, the most odious abuse of freedom: and to supply its loss by the spirit of honour and humanity, which now alleviates and dignifies their obedience to an absolute sovereign.

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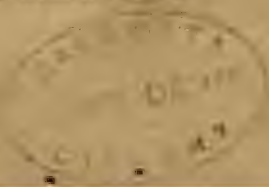
The Visigoths of Spain.

The Visigoths had resigned to Clovis the greatest part of their Gallic possessions; but their loss was amply compensated by the easy conquest, and secure enjoyment, of the provinces of Spain. From the monarchy of the Goths, which soon invaded the Suevic kingdom of Galicia, the modern Spaniards still derive some national vanity: but the historian of the Roman Empire is neither invited, nor compelled, to pursue the obscure and barren series of their annals.\* The Goths of Spain were separated from the rest of mankind, by the lofty ridge of the Pyrenean mountains: their manners and institutions, as far as they were common to the Germanic tribes, have been already explained. I have anticipated, in the preceding chapter, the most important of their ecclesiastical events, the fall of Arianism, and the persecution of the Jews: and it only remains to observe some interesting circumstances, which relate to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the Spanish kingdom.

After their conversion from idolatry or heresy, the Franks and the Visigoths were disposed to

Legation  
des  
Mons.  
de  
Spain.

\* Spain, in those dark ages, has been peculiarly unfortunate. The Franks had a Gregory of Tours; the Saxons, or Angles, a Bede; the Lombards, a Paul Warnefried, &c. But the history of the Visigoths is confined to the short and imperfect character of Isidore of Seville, and John of Biclar.



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embrace, with equal submission, the inherent evils, and the accidental benefits, of superstition. But the prelates of France, long before the extinction of the Merovingian race, had degenerated into fighting and hunting barbarians. They disdained the use of symbols; forgot the laws of temperance and chastity; and preferred the indulgence of private ambition and luxury, to the general interest of the sacerdotal profession. The bishops of Spain respected themselves, and were respected by the people: their indissoluble union disguised their vices, and confirmed their authority: and the regular discipline of the church introduced peace, order, and stability, into the government of the state. From the reign of Recared, the first catholic king, to that of Witiza, the immediate predecessor of the unfortunate Roderic, sixteen national councils were successively convened. The six metropolitans, Toledo, Seville, Merida, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne, presided according to their respective seniority: the assembly was composed of their suffragan bishops, who appeared in person, or by their proxies; and a place was assigned to the most holy or opulent of the Spanish nobles. During the first three days of the convocation, as long as they agitated the ecclesiastical questions of doctrine and discipline, the profane laity was excluded from

\* Such was the simplicity of St. Basil, the apostle of Germany, and the calumny of Gail, *on Rome* iv. p. 183. The numerous years, which the disputes, of heresy and corruption, would seem to demand, that the barbarians were admitted into the clergy, about the year 960.

their debates; which were conducted, however, with decent solemnity. But on the morning of the fourth day, the doors were thrown open for the entrance of the great officers of the palace, the dukes and counts of the provinces, the judges of the cities, and the Gothic nobles: and the decrees of heaven were ratified by the consent of the people. The same rules were observed in the provincial assemblies, the annual synods which were empowered to hear complaints, and to redress grievances; and a legal government was supported by the prevailing influence of the Spanish clergy. The bishops, who in each revolution, were prepared to flatter the victors, and to insult the prostrate, laboured, with diligence and success, to kindle the flames of persecution, and to exalt the mitre above the crown. Yet the national councils of Toledo, in which the free spirit of the barbarians was tempered and guided by episcopal policy, have established some prudent laws for the common benefit of the king and people. The vacancy of the throne was supplied by the choice of the bishops and palatines; and, after the failure of the line of Alaric, the regal dignity was still limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths. The clergy, who anointed their lawful prince, always recommended, and sometimes practised, the duty of allegiance: and the spiritual censures were denounced on the heads of the impious subjects, who should resist his authority, conspire against his life, or violate, by an indecent union, the chastity even of his widow. But the monarch

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CHAP. himself, when he ascended the throne, was bound, LXXVIII.  
by a reciprocal oath to God and his people, that he would faithfully execute his important trust. The real or imaginary faults of his administration were subject to the control of a powerful aristocracy; and the bishops and palatines were guarded by a fundamental privilege, that they should not be degraded, imprisoned, tortured, nor punished with death, exile, or confiscation, unless by the free and public judgment of their peers.<sup>1</sup>

Code of  
the Visi-  
gots.

One of these legislative councils of Toledo examined and ratified the code of laws which had been compiled by a succession of Gothic kings, from the fierce Euric, to the devout Egica. As long as the Visigoths themselves were satisfied with the rude customs of their ancestors, they indulged their subjects of Aquitane and Spain in the enjoyment of the Roman law. Their gradual improvement in arts, in policy, and at length in religion, encouraged them to imitate, and to supersede, these foreign institutions; and to compose a code of civil and criminal jurisprudence, for the use of a great and united people. The same obligations, and the same privileges, were communicated to the nations of the Spanish monarchy: and the conquerors, immediately renoun-

<sup>1</sup> The acts of the councils of Toledo are still the most authentic records of the church and constitution of Spain. The following passages are particularly important, viz. II. 18; 19. 15; 20. 2, 3, 8, 9, 11; 21. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; 19. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. I have found many other passages, and Ferreras, Hist. Generale de l'Espagne, tom. 2, very useful and accurate guides.

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[REMARKS]

cing the Teutonic idiom, submitted to the restraints of equity, and exalted the Romans to the participation of freedom. The merit of this impartial policy was enhanced by the situation of Spain, under the reign of the Visigoths. The provincials were long separated from their Arian masters by the irreconcilable difference of religion. After the conversion of Recared had removed the prejudices of the catholics, the curia, both of the Ocean and Mediterranean, were still possessed by the eastern emperors; who secretly excited a discontented people to reject the yoke of the barbarians, and to assert the name and dignity of Roman citizens. The allegiance of doubtful subjects is indeed most effectually secured by their own persuasion, that they hazard more in a revolt, than they can hope to obtain by revolution; but it has appeared so natural to oppress those whom we hate and fear, that the contrary system well deserves the praise of wisdom and moderation.\*

Reign of  
the  
Visigoths.

While the kingdoms of the Franks and Visigoths were established in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons achieved the conquest of Britain, the third great diocesis of the prefecture of the West. Since Britain was already separated from the Ro-

\* The Code of the Visigoths, regularly revised into twelve books, was first accurately published by Dom Bouquet, in 1733, p. 722. It has been revised by the president de Montesquieu (Lettres Lett. I. 147, c. 1) with excessive severity. I dissent the style; I dissent the expression; but I shall presume to think, that the still judiciously displays a more accurate and vigorous state of society, than that of the Burgundians, or even of the Lombards.

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 into empire; I might, without reproach, derive a story familiar to the most illiterate, and obscure to the most learned, of my readers. The Saxons, who excelled in the use of the oar, or the battle-axe, were ignorant of the art which could alone perpetuate the fame of their exploits: the provincials, relapsing into barbarism, neglected to describe the ruin of their country; and the doubtful tradition was almost extinguished, before the missionaries of Rome restored the light of science and Christianity. The declamations of Gildas, the fragments, or fables, of Nennius, the obscure hints of the Saxon laws and chronicles, and the ecclesiastical tales of the venerable Bede,\* have been illustrated by the diligence, and sometimes embellished by the fancy, of succeeding writers, whose works I am not ambitious either to censure or to transcribe.\* Yet the historian of the empire may be tempted to pursue the revolutions of a Roman province, till it vanishes from his sight: and an Englishman may curiously trace the establishment of the barbarians, from whom he derives his name, his laws, and perhaps his origin.

\* See *History of Europe*, Strabo, p. 11:21, p. 4-5, vol. Gibb. Nennius *Hist. Britanica*, c. 56, 57-61, p. 104-115, edit. Galt: Bede *Eccl. Hist.*, *Gen. Anglorum*, l. i. c. 13-16, p. 48-53, c. 32, p. 58, edit. Smith's *Class. Bibliotheca*, p. 11:21, &c. edit. Gibson. The Anglo-Saxon laws were published by Watson, London, 1721, in 4to: and the *Leges Saxonum*, by Watson and Clarke, London, 1725, in 8vo.

\* The learned Mr. Carte, and the ingenious Mr. Wharton, are the two authors, to whom I am principally indebted. The particular histories of Mercian and Wessex, under that shorter title, are not almost so extensive as the general History of England.

About forty years after the dissolution of the Roman government, Vortigern appears to have obtained the supreme, though precarious, command of the princes and cities of Britain. That unfortunate monarch has been almost unanimously condemned for the weak and mischievous policy of inviting\* a formidable stranger, to repel the vexatious incursions of a domestic foe. His ambassadors are despatched, by the gravest historians, to the coast of Germany: they address a pathetic oration to the general assembly of the Saxons, and those warlike hordes resolve to assist with a fleet and army the suppliants of a distant and unknown island. If Britain had indeed been unknown to the Saxons, the measure of its calamities would have been less complete. But the strength of the Roman government could not always guard the maritime province against the pirates of Germany: the independent and divided states were exposed to their attacks: and the Saxons might sometimes join the Scots and the Picts, in a tacit, or express, confederacy of rapine and destruction. Vortigern could only balance the various perils, which assailed on every side his throne and his people; and his policy may deserve either praise or excuse, if he preferred the alliance of *those* barbarians, whose naval

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The History of  
The State  
of New York,  
A. D.  
1784.

\* This conclusion, which may derive some confirmation from the two impressions of Clinton and Mass., is Generalized in a regular way by Woodland, a Native friend of the tribe country, (See Green, Hist. de l'Empire d'Occident, tom. vi. p. 254b. Paper, and even Hume, who has nearly read this manuscript evidence, which, regarding the proper and probable testimony of Woodland, I have referred to as Clinton & Greenwald is well known, to which even Hume at Houghton.

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power rendered them the most dangerous enemies, and the most servicable allies. Hengist and Horsa, as they ranged along the eastern coast with three ships, were engaged, by the promise of an ample stipend, to embrace the defence of Britain; and their intrepid valour soon delivered the country from the Caledonian invaders. The isle of Thanet, a secure and fertile district, was allotted for the residence of these German auxiliaries, and they were supplied, according to the treaty, with a plentiful allowance of clothing and provisions. This favourable reception encouraged five thousand warriors to embark with their families in seventeen vessels, and the infant power of Hengist was fortified by this strong and seasonable reinforcement. The crafty barbarian suggested to Vortigern the obvious advantage of fixing, in the neighbourhood of the Picts, a colony of faithful allies: a third fleet of forty ships, under the command of his son and nephew, sailed from Germany, ravaged the Orkneys, and disembarked a new army on the coast of Northumberland, or Lothian, at the opposite extremity of the devoted land. It was easy to foresee, but it was impossible to prevent, the impending evils. The two nations were soon divided and exasperated by mutual jealousies. The Saxons magnified all that they had done and suffered in the cause of an ungrateful people; while the Britons regretted the liberal rewards which could not satisfy the avarice of these haughty mercenaries. The vapours of fear and hatred were inflamed into an irreconcilable quarrel. The Saxons flew to arms; and

if they perpetrated a treacherous massacre during the security of a feast, they destroyed the reciprocal confidence which sustains the intercourse of peace and war.\*

Hengist, who boldly aspired to the conquest of Britain, exhorted his countrymen to embrace the glorious opportunity: he painted in lively colours the fertility of the soil, the wealth of the cities, the pusillanimous temper of the natives, and the convenient situation of a spacious solitary island, accessible on all sides to the Saxon fleets. The successive colonies which issued, in the period of a century, from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, were principally composed of three valiant tribes or nations of Germany; the *Jutes*, the *old Saxons*, and the *Angles*. The *Jutes*, who fought under the peculiar banner of Hengist, assumed the merit of leading their countrymen in the paths of glory, and of erecting, in Kent, the first independent kingdom. The fame of the enterprise was attributed to the primitive Saxons; and the common laws and language of the conquerors are described by the national appellation of a people, which, at the end of four hundred years, produced the first monarchs of South Britain. The Angles were distinguished by their numbers and their mo-  
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Continued.

English-  
name of  
the Saxon  
heptarchy,  
A. D. 442.  
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\* Nicetas ascribes to the Saxons the murder of three British chiefs; a murder not essentially to their original character. But we are now obliged to believe, from *Jortin's* *History of Monmouth*, &c. &c. &c. that this belongs to their conquest, which was given and formerly imported from Africa to Ireland, and which was continued to Britain by the order of Augustine, and the rest of the Saxons.

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and they claimed the honour of fixing a perpetual name on the country, of which they occupied the most ample portion. The barbarians, who followed the hopes of rapine either on the land or sea, were insensibly blended with this triple confederacy; the *Frisians*, who had been tempted by their vicinity to the British shores, might balance, during a short space, the strength and reputation of the native Saxons; the *Danes*, the *Fenicians*, the *Rugians*, are faintly described; and some adventurous *Huns*, who had wandered as far as the Baltic, might embark on board the German vessels, for the conquest of a new world.\* But this arduous achievement was not prepared or executed by the union of national powers. Each intrepid chieftain, according to the measure of his fame and fortunes, assembled his followers; equipped a fleet of three, or perhaps of sixty, vessels; chose the place of the attack; and conducted his subsequent operations according to the events of the war, and the dictates of his private interest. In the invasion of Britain many heroes vanquished and fell; but only seven victorious leaders assumed, or at least maintained, the title of kings. Seven independent thrones, the Saxon Heptarchy, were founded by the conquerors, and seven families, one of which has been continued, by female succession, to our present sovereign, derived their equal and sacred lineage from

\* Cf. these tribes are expressly mentioned by Bede, (H. V. c. 14. p. 29) (H. V. c. 15. p. 100) and though I have omitted Mr. Whitaker's conjecture (Hist. of Manchester, vol. II. p. 238-242) I do not possess the possibility of supposing that the *Frisians* &c. were mingled with the Anglo-Saxons.

Woden, the god of war, it has been pretended, that this republic of kings was moderated by a general council and a supreme magistrate. But such an artificial scheme of policy is repugnant to the rude and turbulent spirit of the Saxons: their laws are silent; and their imperfect annals afford only a dark and bloody prospect of intestine discord.\*

A monk, who in the profound ignorance of human life, has presumed to exercise the office of historian, strangely disfigures the state of Britain at the time of its separation from the western empire. Gildas† describes in florid language the improvements of agriculture, the foreign trade which flowed with every tide into the Thames and the Severn, the solid and lofty construction of public and private edifices: he accuses the sinful luxury of the British people: of a people, according to the same writer, ignorant of the most simple arts, and incapable, without the aid of the Romans, of providing walls of stone, or weapons of iron, for the defence of their native land.‡ Under the long dominion of the emperors,

\* Eddæ has commemorated seven kings, two Saxons, a Jute, and five Angles, who successively reigned in the heptarchy, as indubitable evidences of power and renown. But their reign was the effect, not of law, but of conquest; and he observes, in similar terms, that one of them subdued the Isles of Man and Anglescy; and that another imposed a tribute on the Scots and Picts. (Hist. Britan. l. ii. c. 3. p. 327.)

† See Gildas de Exiliis Britannicis, c. 1. p. 1, edit. Gale.

‡ Mr. Whitaker (History of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 105, 116) has immoderately exalted this glowing description, which had passed unnoticed by the general historians, as they were labouring to paint intemperance and immorality.

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Britain had been insensibly moulded into the elegant and servile form of a Roman province, whose safety was intrusted to a foreign power. The subjects of Honorius contemplated their new freedom with surprise and terror: they were left destitute of any civil or military constitution: and their uncertain rulers wanted either skill, or courage, or authority, to direct the public force against the common enemy. The introduction of the Saxons betrayed their internal weakness, and degraded the character both of the prince and people. Their consternation magnified the danger: the want of union diminished their resources: and the madness of civil factions was more solicitous to accuse, than to remedy, the evils, which they imputed to the misconduct of their administrators. Yet the Britons were not ignorant, they could not be ignorant, of the manufacture or the use of arms: the successive and disorderly attacks of the Saxons, allowed them to recover from their amazement, and the prosperous or adverse events of the war added discipline and experience to their native valour.

These are  
Saxons.

While the continent of Europe and Africa yielded, without resistance, to the barbarians, the British island, alone and unaided, maintained a long, a vigorous, though an unsuccessful struggle, against the formidable pirates, who, almost at the same instant, assaulted the northern, the eastern, and the southern coasts. The cities which had been fortified with skill, were defended with resolution: the advantages of ground, hills,

forests, and morasses, were diligently improved by the inhabitants: the conquest of each district was purchased with blood; and the defeats of the Saxons are strongly attested by the discreet silence of their annalist. Hengist might hope to achieve the conquest of Britain: but his ambition, in an active reign of thirty-five years, was confined to the possession of Kent; and the numerous colony which he had planted in the North, was extirpated by the sword of the Britons. The monarchy of the West-Saxons was laboriously founded by the persevering efforts of three martial generations. The life of Cerdic, one of the bravest of the children of Woden, was consumed in the conquest of Hampshire, and the isle of Wight; and the loss which he sustained in the battle of Mount Badon, reduced him to a state of inglorious repose. Kenric, his valiant son, advanced into Wiltshire; besieged Salisbury, at that time seated on a commanding eminence; and vanquished an army which advanced to the relief of the city. In the subsequent battle of Marlborough,\* his British enemies displayed their military science. Their troops were formed in three lines: each line consisted of three distinct bodies, and the cavalry, the archers, and the pikemen, were distri-

\* At Marston, or Denham, near Marlborough. The Saxon chronicle begins *æt hæn and ælle*. Gough's *Britannia*, vol. 1, p. 119) mentions the place; and Henry of Huntingdon (*Chronicon* post. Roman., p. 246) relates the circumstances of this battle. They are probable and characteristic, and the historians of the twelfth century might amass some materials that are forgotten.

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buted according to the principles of Roman tactics. The Saxons charged in one weighty column, boldly encountered with their short swords the long lances of the Britons, and maintained an equal conflict till the approach of night. Two decisive victories, the death of three British kings, and the reduction of Cirencester, Bath, and Gloucester, established the fame and power of Ceaulin, the grandson of Cerdic, who carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Severn.

and flight.

After a war of an hundred years, the independent Britons still occupied the whole extent of the western coast, from the wall of Antoninus to the extreme promontory of Cornwall: and the principal cities of the inland country still opposed the arms of the barbarians. Resistance became more languid, as the number and boldness of the assailants continually increased. Winning their way by slow and painful efforts, the Saxons, the Angles, and their various confederates, advanced from the North, from the East, and from the South, till their victorious banners were united in the centre of the island. Beyond the Severn, the Britons still asserted their national freedom, which survived the heptarchy, and even the monarchy, of the Saxons. The bravest warriors, who preferred exile to slavery, found a secure refuge in the mountains of Wales: the reluctant submission of Cornwall was delayed for some ages;\* and a

\* Cornwall was finally subdued by Athelstan, (A. D. 940-44), who planted an English colony at Exeter, and expelled the Britons beyond the great Tamar. See William of Malmshury, l. ii. in the Scriptores.

band of fugitives acquired a settlement in Gaul, by their own valour, or the liberality of the Merovingian kings.<sup>2</sup> The western angle of Armorica acquired the new appellations of *Cornwall*, and the *Lesser Britain*; and the vacant lands of the Osismii were filled by a strange people, who, under the authority of their counts and bishops, preserved the laws and language of their ancestors. To the feeble descendants of Clovis and Charlemagne, the Britons of Armorica refused the customary tribute, subdued the neighbouring diocesses of Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes, and formed a powerful, though vassal, state, which has been united to the crown of France.<sup>3</sup>

Scriptures post Bedam, p. 50. The spirit of the Cornish struggle was degraded by surrender; and it should seem, from the Remains of St. Tulkern, that their country was almost provincial.

<sup>2</sup> The establishment of the Britons in Gaul is proved in the fifth century, by Prosper, Gregory of Tours, the annal council of Tours, (A. D. 467), and the first signatures of their bishops and lines of monks. The subscription of a Bishop of the Britons to the first council of Tours, (A. D. 461), is rather 481, the name of Basiliensis, and the later date of the council, still transmits potent notions, c. 75, p. 9, may sometimes be mistaken as early as the middle of the fifth century. Beyond that era, the Britons of Armorica can be fixed only in silence; and I am surprised that Mr. Whitaker's *Norman History of the Britons*, p. 715-721, should so implicitly resemble the gross ignorance of Carlo, whose real name he has so vigorously obtained.

<sup>3</sup> The antiquities of Bretagne, which have been the subject even of political controversy, are illustrated by Huetius Valerius, (Notre Gallienus, ad loca Britannia Comitia, p. 96-100; M. d'Anville, *Notice de l'Armorique Gauloise, Celtique, Celtulidie, Galoise, Cornuaise*, p. 214, 216, 204, 222, and *State de l'Europe*, p. 76-80; Longueval, *Description de la France*, vol. 1, p. 84-86), and the *Atlas de Vernet*, (Plan Historique de l'Établissement des Bretons dans les Gaules, 2<sup>e</sup> ed. in 12mo, Paris, 1777). I may assume the merit of examining the original evidence which they have produced.

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XXXVIII.The time  
of Arthur.

In a century of perpetual, or at least implacable, war, much courage, and some skill, must have been exerted for the defence of Britain. Yet if the memory of its champions is almost buried in oblivion, we need not repine; since every age, how ever destitute of science or virtue, sufficiently abounds with acts of blood and military renown. The tomb of Vertimer, the son of Vortigern, was erected on the margin of the sea-shore, as a landmark formidable to the Saxons, whom he had thrice vanquished in the fields of Kent. Ambrosius Aurelianus was descended from a noble family of Romans;\* his modesty was equal to his valour, and his valour, till the last fatal action,† was crowned with splendid success. But every British name is effaced by the illustrious name of ARTHUR,‡ the hereditary prince of the Silures, in South Wales, and the elective king or general of the nation. According to the most rational ac-

\* *Idem*, who in his *Chronicle*, 93, 246, places Ambrosius under the reign of Kent, 14, B. 474, 481, observes, that his parents had been "plunged into it" which he explains, in his *ecclesiastical history*, 93, 4, "quodam modo et regem Britanniam," 93, 4, 16, p. 221. The *Chronicon* of Michael 16, 94, p. 116, adds, *Calet* is still more correct, "Eius de mortaliis gentis Britannorum rex postea."

† By his resistance, though defeated, supporters of our independence, Ambrosius is confounded with Bernard, who 14, B. 479, lost his own life, and the dominion of his subject, in a battle against Cadell, the War King, (*Idem*, *Idem*, p. 12, 13).

‡ As I have a passage in the *Wales*, *Merch*, *Idem*, *Idem*, and *Idem*, my faith in the existence and exploits of Arthur principally rests on the simple and uncorrupted testimony of Geoffrey, (*Idem* *Idem*, 1, 22, B. 1, p. 121). Mr. Wharton (*Idem*, *Idem*, *Idem*, 1, 22, p. 121) has found an interesting, and very probable, confirmation of the story of Arthur, though it is impossible to know the value of the ancient tale.

count, he defeated, in twelve successive battles, the Angles of the North, and the Saxons of the West; but the declining age of the hero was embittered by popular ingratitude, and domestic misfortunes. The events of his life are less interesting, than the singular revolutions of his name. During a period of five hundred years the tradition of his exploits was preserved, and rudely embellished, by the obscure bards of Wales and Armorica, who were odious to the Saxons, and unknown to the rest of mankind. The pride and curiosity of the Norman conquerors, prompted them to inquire into the ancient history of Britain: they listened with fond credulity to the tale of Arthur, and eagerly applauded the merit of a prince, who had triumphed over the Saxons, their common enemies. His romance, transcribed in the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fashionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments, which were familiar to the experience, the learning, or the fancy, of the twelfth century. The progress of a Phrygian colony, from the Tiber to the Thames, was easily engrafted on the fable of the *Æneid*; and the royal ancestors of Arthur derived their origin from Troy, and claimed their alliance with the Cæsars. His trophies were decorated with captive provinces, and imperial titles; and his Danish victories avenged the recent injuries of his country. The gallantry and superstition of the British hero, his feasts and tournaments, and the memorable institution of

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[continued]

his *Knights of the Round Table*, were faithfully copied from the reigning manners of chivalry; and the fabulous exploits of Uther's son, appear less incredible, than the adventures which were achieved by the enterprising valour of the Normans. Pilgrimage, and the holy wars, introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairies, and giants, flying dragons, and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the West; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the prediction, of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur, and the *Knights of the Round Table*: their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length the light of science and reason was re-kindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the *existence* of Arthur.\*

Decline  
and  
Fall of  
Britain.

Resistance, if it cannot avert, must increase the miseries of conquest; and conquest has never appeared more dreadful and destructive than in the hands of the Saxons; who hated the valour of

\* The progress of conquest, and the state of society, in the sixth century, are illustrated by Mr. Thomsen Wharton, with the view of a poem, and the minute disquisitions of an antiquarian. These details are instructive from the two learned observations prefixed to the first volume of his *History of English Poetry*.

their enemies, disclaimed the faith of treaties, and violated, without remorse, the most sacred objects of the Christian worship. The fields of battle might be traced almost in every district, by monuments of bones; the fragments of falling towers were stained with blood; the last of the Britons, without distinction of age or sex, was massacred in the ruins of Anderida; and the repetition of such calamities was frequent and familiar under the Saxon heptarchy. The arts and religion, the laws and language, which the Romans had so carefully planted in Britain, were extirpated by their barbarous successors. After the destruction of the principal churches, the bishops, who had declined the crown of martyrdom, retired with the holy relics into Wales and Armorica; the remains of their flocks were left destitute of any spiritual food; the practice, and even the remembrance, of Christianity were abolished; and the British clergy might obtain some comfort from the damnation of the idolatrous strangers. The kings of France maintained the privileges of their Roman subjects; but the ferocious Saxons trampled on the laws of Rome, and of the emperors. The proceedings

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continued

*stunt  
producing*

\* Hæc ætas (100) Eboræ et Eboracensium Antiquitates-Fremery in antiquarian notes vol. 12 (1802) vol. 12 p. 121; an inscription more ancient in its origin, than all the vulgar and tedious translations of the British Chronicle.

† Antiquitates-Fremery, or Antiquities, is placed by Camden (Britannia, vol. 1, p. 218) at Newmarket, in the marshy grounds of Kent, which might be formerly covered by the sea, and on the edge of the great forest, Anderida, which corresponded to large a portion of Hampshire and Essex.

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of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the titles of honour, the forms of office, the ranks of society, and even the domestic rights of marriage, testament, and inheritance, were finally suppressed; and the indiscriminate crowd of noble and plebeian slaves was governed by the traditional customs, which had been coarsely framed for the shepherds and pirates of Germany. The language of science, of business, and of conversation, which had been introduced by the Romans, was lost in the general desolation. A sufficient number of Latin or Celtic words might be assumed by the Germans, to express their new wants and ideas;<sup>1</sup> but those *illiterate* pagans preserved and established the use of their national dialect.<sup>2</sup> Almost every name, conspicuous either in the church or state, reveals its Teutonic origin;<sup>3</sup> and the geography of *England* was universally inscribed with foreign characters and appellations. The example of a revolution, so rapid and so complete, may not easily be found; but it will excite a probable suspicion, that the arts of Rome were less deeply rooted in Britain than in Gaul or Spain; and that the na-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Johnson asserts that few English words are of British extraction. Mr. Warton, who understands the British language, has discovered more than three thousand, and actually produces a long and modern catalogue, vol. i. p. 231, 272. It is possible, indeed, that many of these words may have been imported from the Latin or French into the native tongue of Britain.

<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of the seventh century, the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons mutually understood each other's language, which was called from the same Teutonic root *Wædd*, &c. c. 23, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> After the first generation of Latins, or British, subsided, the language of the church was filled with Latin principles.

tive rudeness of the country and its inhabitants, was covered by a thin varnish of Italian manners.

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Scythians

This strange alteration has persuaded historians, and even philosophers, that the provincials of Britain were totally exterminated; and that the vacant land was again peopled by the perpetual influx, and rapid increase, of the German colonies. Three hundred thousand Saxons are said to have obeyed the summons of Hengist; the entire emigration of the Angles was attested, in the age of Bede, by the solitude of their native country;<sup>1</sup> and our experience has shown the free propagation of the human race, if they are cast on a fruitful wilderness, where their steps are unconfined, and their subsistence is plentiful. The Saxon kingdoms displayed the face of recent discovery and cultivation: the towns were small, the villages were distant: the husbandry was languid and unskilful: four sheep were equivalent to an acre of the best land;<sup>2</sup> an ample space of wood and morass was resigned to the vague dominion of nature; and the modern bishopric of Durham, the whole territory from the Tyne to the Tees, had returned to its primitive state of a savage and soli-

<sup>1</sup> *Cornwall's History of England*, vol. i. p. 184. He quotes the Welsh historian; but I much doubt, that *Jeffrey of Monmouth* is, c. 154, his only witness.

<sup>2</sup> *Bede's Hist. Ecclesiast.* i. c. 15, p. 22. The fact is probably, and well attested; yet even the loose literature of the German tribes, that we find, in a subsequent period, the loss of the Saxon and Westphalian of Germany, (*Ursprung, Ueber*, p. 179-180).

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Henry's useful and laborious *History of Great Britain*, vol. ii. p. 288.

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lary forest.\* Such imperfect population might have been supplied, in some generations, by the English colonies; but neither reason nor facts can justify the unnatural supposition, that the Saxons of Britain remained alone in the desert which they had subdued. After the sanguinary barbarians had secured their dominion, and gratified their revenge, it was their interest to preserve the peasants, as well as the cattle, of the unresisting country. In each successive revolution, the patient herd becomes the property of its new masters: and the salutary compact of food and labour is silently ratified by their mutual necessities. Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex,<sup>†</sup> accepted from his royal convert the gift of the peninsula of Selvy, near Chichester, with the persons and property of its inhabitants, who then amounted to eighty-seven families. He released them at once from spiritual and temporal bondage: and two hundred and fifty slaves of both sexes were baptized by their indulgent master. The kingdom of Sussex, which spread from the sea to the Thames, contained seven thousand families; twelve hundred were ascribed to the isle of Wight; and, if we multiply this vague computation, it may

\* *Antiquit. regis Joh. de Tancarville* lib. 1.º Tyman et Tyman fortis etiam una bene servitudo bene temperata fuit, et Merita multos illius meritis, et quid eam antea fuerit et existeret admodum apud eos, et habebat illi, regis Carth. lib. 1.º p. 151.º From Henry Nelson, (English Historical Library, p. 64, 65, ) it is manifest, that his copies of John of Tancarville's ample collection are preserved in the library of Oxford, Lambeth, &c.

† See the mission of Wilfrid, See de Bède, Hist. Eccles. 1. 4. c. 22. 1.º p. 124, 126, 129.

seem probable, that England was cultivated by a million of servants, or *villeins*, who were attached to the estates of their arbitrary landlords. The indigent barbarians were often tempted to sell their children or themselves into perpetual, and even foreign, bondage; yet the special exemptions, which were granted to national slaves,\* sufficiently declare, that they were much less numerous than the strangers and captives, who had lost their liberty, or changed their masters, by the accidents of war. When time and religion had mitigated the fierce spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, the laws encouraged the frequent practice of manumission; and their subjects, of Welsh, or Cambrian, extraction, assume the respectable station of inferior freemen, possessed of lands, and entitled to the rights of civil society.† Such gentle treatment might secure the allegiance of a fierce people, who had been recently subdued on the confines of Wales and Cornwall. The sage Ioa, the legislator of Wessex, united the two nations

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\* From the concurrent testimony of *Polk*, (l. 3. c. 4. p. 78), and *William of Malmesbury*, (l. 3. p. 102), it appears that the Anglo-Saxons, from the first, to the last, ages, purchased in this manner persons. Their goods were publicly sold in the market of *Barnes*.

† According to the laws of *Ioa*, they could not be lawfully sold beyond the seas.

\* The law of *A. Wulfstan*, an Englishman, born, who possessed a *King of Kent*, is fixed at 100 shillings, by the same law, (of *Ioa*, l. 3. c. 4. p. 78), in *Leg. Anglo-Saxon.* p. 22, which allowed 200 shillings for a free Saxon, and 1000 for a Thane, (see *Legation Eng. Anglo-Saxon*, p. 71). We may observe, that these legislators, the *West-Saxons* and *Mercians*, continued their British customs when they became Christians. The laws of the four Kings of *Kent* do not seem to notice the existence of any subject *Briton*.

CHAT. in the hands of domestic alliance; and four British  
 XXXVIII lords of Somersetshire may be honourably dis-  
 tinguished in the court of a Saxon monarch.\*

Monarchs  
 of the  
 Britons.

The independent Britons appear to have re-  
 lapsed into the state of original barbarism, from  
 whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed. Se-  
 parated by their enemies from the rest of man-  
 kind, they soon became an object of scandal and  
 abhorrence to the catholic world.\* Christianity  
 was still professed in the mountains of Wales; but  
 the rude schismatics in the form of the clerical  
 tonsure, and in the day of the celebration of Easter,  
 obstinately resisted the imperious mandates of the  
 Roman pontiffs. The use of the Latin language  
 was insensibly abolished, and the Britons were de-  
 prived of the arts and learning which Italy com-  
 municated to her Saxon proselytes. In Wales  
 and Armorica, the Celtic tongue, the native idiom  
 of the West, was preserved and propagated;  
 and the *Bards*, who had been the companions  
 of the Druids, were still protected, in the  
 sixteenth century, by the laws of Elizabeth. Their  
 chief, a respectable officer of the courts of Peng-  
 wern, or Aberfrow, or Caermarthaen, accompa-  
 nied the king's servants to war: the monarchy of  
 the Britons, which he sung in the front of battle,  
 excited their courage, and justified their depre-

\* See Camden's *Brit. in England*, vol. i. p. 279.

\* At the conclusion of his history, M. DE TISSOT, Bels, discusses the  
 civilization of the Britons, and compares the suppleable, though  
 imperfect, laws of the Britons, with the English nation, and the  
 British church. (l. i. c. 28, p. 177.)

dations; and the songster claimed for his legitimate prize the fairest portion of the spoil. His subordinate ministers, the masters and disciples of vocal and instrumental music, visited, in their respective circuits, the royal, the noble, and the plebeian houses; and the public poverty, almost exhausted by the clergy, was oppressed by the importunate demands of the laity. Their rank and merit were ascertained by solemn trials, and the strong belief of supernatural inspiration exalted the fancy of the poet, and of his audience. The last remnants of Celtic freedom, the extreme territories of Gaul and Britain, were less adapted to agriculture than to pasturage: the wealth of the Britons consisted in their flocks and herds; milk and flesh were their ordinary food; and bread was sometimes esteemed, or rejected, as a foreign luxury. Liberty had peopled the mountains of Wales and the morasses of Armorica; but their populousness has been maliciously ascribed to the loose practice of polygamy; and the houses of these licentious barbarians have been supposed to contain ten wives and perhaps fifty children.\* Their disposition was rash

\* Mr. Freeman's *Tales in Wales* (p. 335-347) has furnished me with a curious and interesting account of the Welsh bards. In the year 1366, a festival was held at Caerwyn by the special command of Queen Elizabeth, and regular degrees of vocal and instrumental music were awarded on fifty-five instruments. The prize of silver harp was adjudged by the Mowbray family.

\* *Regis laquei interque dolores, totius, regis, regis, cadit illi, telum.* Further evidence in this matter comes with complete gravity, neither more barbarous than our English nation. The remark of William of Poitiers on the ill-treatment of Poitiers, *Ann. 21, p. 469* is contained by the Benedictine edition.

CHAP. and choleric: they were bold in action and  
 XXXVIII. in speech;\* and as they were ignorant of the  
 arts of peace, they alternately indulged their pas-  
 sions in foreign and domestic war. The cavalry  
 of Armorica, the spearmen of Gwent, and the  
 archers of Merioneth, were equally formidable;  
 but their poverty could seldom procure either  
 shields or helmets; and the inconvenient weight  
 would have retarded the speed and agility of their  
 desultory operations. One of the greatest of the  
 English monarchs was requested to satisfy the  
 curiosity of a Greek emperor concerning the state  
 of Britain; and Henry II could assert, from his  
 personal experience, that Wales was inhabited  
 by a race of naked warriors, who encountered,  
 without fear, the defensive armour of their ene-  
 mies.<sup>†</sup>

Obscene  
 or fabu-  
 lous state  
 of Britain.

By the revolution of Britain, the limits of sci-  
 ence, as well as of empire, were contracted. The  
 dark cloud, which had been cleared by the Phœ-  
 nician discoveries, and finally dispelled by the  
 arms of Cæsar, again settled on the shores of the  
 Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost  
 among the fabulous islands of the Ocean. One  
 hundred and fifty years after the reign of Hono-

\* *Græcibus Commodis* sanctions this gift of bold and ready speech to the Romans, the French, and the Britons. The malicious Welshmen insinuate, that the English excessively weight jealousy in the effort of their virulence against the Normans.

† The picture of Wales and Armorican Britain is drawn from Geoffrey, *Historia*, Camden, 6. 8. 84. where Sneyd, *Spelman*, p. 866. 867. and the authors quoted by the *AMd de France*, (Hist. Colligée, tom. 2, p. 126. 127.)

thus, the gravest historian of the times\* describes the wonders of a remote isle, whose eastern and western parts are divided by an antique wall, the boundary of life and death, or, more properly, of truth and fiction. The east is a fair country, inhabited by a civilized people: the air is healthy, the waters are pure and plentiful, and the earth yields her regular and fruitful increase. In the west, beyond the wall, the air is infectious and mortal; the ground is covered with serpents; and this dreary solitude is the region of departed spirits, who are transported from the opposite shores in substantial boats, and by living rowers. Some families of fishermen, the subjects of the Franks, are excused from tribute, in consideration of the mysterious office which is performed by these Charons of the ocean. Each in his turn is summoned, at the hour of midnight, to hear the voices, and even the names, of the ghosts; he is sensible of their weight, and he feels himself impelled by an unknown, but irresistible, power. After this dream of fancy, we read with astonishment that the name of this island is *Brittia*; that it lies in the ocean, against the mouth of the Rhine, and less than thirty miles from the continent; that it is possessed by three nations, the Frisians, the Angles, and the Britons; and that some Angles had appeared at Constantinople, in the train of

\* The *Prætorius* de Bell. Goth. l. vi. p. 84. p. 400. 401. The *Ætius* *Adrianus* is almost so contradicted by the soldiers whom he recruits, that he easily attempts to persuade the ghosts of Britons and Frisians, which he has described by so many incredible circumstances.

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—————

the French ambassadors. From these ambassadors Procopius might be informed of a singular, though not improbable, adventure, which announces the spirit, rather than the delicacy, of an English heroine. She had been betrothed to Radiger, king of the Varni, a tribe of Germans who touched the ocean and the Rhine; but the perfidious lover was tempted, by motives of policy, to prefer his father's widow, the sister of Theodelbert, king of the Franks.\* The forsaken princess of the Angles, instead of bewailing, revenged her disgrace. Her warlike subjects are said to have been ignorant of the use, and even of the form, of an horse; but she boldly sailed from Britain to the mouth of the Rhine, with a fleet of four hundred ships, and an army of one hundred thousand men. After the loss of a battle, the captive Radiger implored the mercy of his victorious bride, who generously pardoned his offence, dismissed her rival, and compelled the king of the Varni to discharge with honour and fidelity the duties of an husband.† This gal-

\* Theodelbert, grandson of Clovis, and king of Austrasia, was the most powerful and warlike prince of the age; and this remarkable adventure may be placed between the years 534 and 547, the extreme terms of his reign. His sister Theodelinda retired to Rome, where she founded monasteries, and distributed alms; (see the notes of the *Reverendissimus* edition, to tom. II. p. 216). If we may credit the picture of Fortunatus, *l. vi.* vers. 8, in tom. II. p. 207, Radiger was deprived of a most valuable wife.

† Perhaps she was the sister of one of the princess or chiefs of the Angles who landed in 537, and the following years, between the Humber and the Thames, and gradually founded the kingdoms of East-Angles and Mercia. The English writers are ignorant of her name and adventures; but Procopius may have suggested to Mr. Jones the character and situation of Radegunde in the tragedy of the *Reynolds*.

lant exploit appears to be the last naval enterprise of the Anglo-Saxons. The arts of navigation, by which they had acquired the empire of Britain and of the sea, were soon neglected by the indolent barbarians, who supinely renounced all the commercial advantages of their insular situation. Seven independent kingdoms were agitated by perpetual discord; and the *British world* was seldom connected, either in peace or war, with the nations of the continent.\*

I have now accomplished the laborious narrative of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, from the fortunate age of Trajan and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the West, about five centuries after the Christian era. At that unhappy period, the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the possession of Britain; Gaul and Spain were divided between the powerful monarchies of the Franks and Visigoths, and the dependant kingdoms of the Saceri and Burgundians: Africa was exposed to the cruel persecution of the Vandals, and the savage insults of the Moors: Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of barbarian mercenaries, whose lawless tyranny was succeeded by the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. All the subjects of the empire, who

Fall of the  
Roman  
empire in  
the West.

\* In the original history of Gregory of Tours, we should find no trace of hostile or friendly intercourse between France and England, except by the marriage of the daughter of Caribert, king of France, with the son of the king of the Angles. *Greg. Turon. hist. eccl. lib. 4. c. 22.* In some editions, the marriage is said to have taken place in the year 562. The bishop of Tours ended his history and his life almost immediately before the conversion of Kent.

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by the use of the Latin language, more particularly deserved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppressed by the disgrace and calamities of foreign conquest; and the victorious nations of Germany established a new system of manners and government in the western countries of Europe. The majesty of Rome was faintly represented by the princes of Constantinople, the feeble and imaginary successors of Augustus. Yet they continued to reign over the East, from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris; the Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and Africa were subverted by the arms of Justinian; and the history of the *Greek* emperors may still afford a long series of instructive lessons, and interesting revolutions.

*General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire  
in the West.*

THE Greeks, after their country had been reduced into a province, imputed the triumphs of Rome, not to the merit, but to the fortune, of the republic. The inconstant goddess, who so bountifully distributes and resumes her favours, had now consented (such was the language of excessive flattery) to resign her wings, to descend from her globe, and to fix her seat and immutable throne on the banks of the Tiber.\* A wise Greek, who has composed, with a philosophic spirit, the memorable history of his own times, deprived his countrymen of this vain and delusive comfort, by opening to their view the deep foundations of the greatness of Rome.† The fidelity of the citizens to each other, and to the state, was confirmed by the habits of education, and the prejudices of religion. Honour, as well as virtue, was the principal of the republic; the ambitious citizens laboured to deserve the solemn

\* Such are the frequent expressions of Plutarch, (Plutarch, Rom. R. p. 218, edit. Waddell, to whom, on the fall of the late Emperor, (Constantine, Brevet. Chron. ann. 17, p. 341), I shall boldly ascribe the following sentiment, *ita se fortunæ regem*. The same opinion had prevailed among the Greeks two hundred and fifty years before Christ, and is manifest from the professed intention of Polybius, (Hist. l. 1, p. 83, edit. Gieseler, Amstel. 1820).

† See the remarkable passage of the sixth book of Polybius, and many other parts of his general history, particularly a dissertation in the seventeenth book, in which he compares the phœnix and the hyacinth.

glories of a triumph; and the ardour of the Roman youth was kindled into active emulation, as often as they beheld the domestic images of their ancestors.\* The temperate struggles of the patricians and plebeians had finally established the firm and equal balance of the constitution; which united the freedom of popular assemblies, with the authority and wisdom of a senate, and the executive powers of a regal magistrate. When the consul displayed the standard of the republic, each citizen bound himself, by the obligation of an oath, to draw his sword in the cause of his country, till he had discharged the sacred duty by a military service of ten years. This wise institution continually poured into the field the rising generations of freemen and soldiers; and their numbers were reinforced by the warlike and populous states of Italy, who, after a brave resistance, had yielded to the valour, and embraced the alliance, of the Romans. The sage historian, who excited the virtue of the younger Scipio, and beheld the ruin of Carthage,† has accurately described their military system; their levies, arms, exercises, subordination, marches, encampments;

\* *Sallust, de Bell. Jugurth.* c. 4. Such were the generous professions of P. Scipio and Q. Marcius. The Latin historian had read, and must probably transcribe, Polybius, their contemporary and friend.

† While Carthage was in flames, Scipio repeated two lines of the *Iliad*, which express the destruction of Troy, ascribed to Polybius, his friend and preceptor, (*Strabo in Excerpt. de Viris, et Viri.* ii. p. 1455-1456), that while he recollected the vicissitudes of human affairs, he inwardly applied them to the future calamities of Rome, (*Sallust, de Jugurth.* p. 126, *not. Tell.*)

and the invincible legion, superior in active strength to the Macedonian phalanx of Philip and Alexander. From these institutions of peace and war, Polybius has deduced the spirit and success of a people, incapable of fear, and impatient of repose. The ambitious design of conquest, which might have been defeated by the reasonable conspiracy of mankind, was attempted and achieved; and the perpetual violation of justice was maintained by the political virtues of prudence and courage. The arms of the republic, sometimes vanquished in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Ocean; and the images of gold, or silver, or brass, that might serve to represent the nations and their kings, were successively broken by the iron monarchy of Rome.\*

The rise of a city, which swelled into an empire, may deserve, as a singular prodigy, the reflection of a philosophic mind. But the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay; the causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest; and as soon as time or accident had removed the artificial

\* See Daniel, *ii.* 33-40. "And the Fourth Kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things." The ruin of the prosperity (the ruin of iron and clay) was accomplished, according to his dream, in his own time. Fort reigns in principle with Rome: *Imperio Regna cadunt*, its in the ruin with inclination: *quasi ut in belli ratione et admodum spectant rationem, alterum quidem virtutem, alterum judicium*, (Hobbes, *tom. ii.* p. 373).

supports, the stupendous fabric yielded to the pressure of its own weight. The story of its ruin is simple and obvious: and instead of inquiring why the Roman empire was destroyed, we should rather be surprised that it had subsisted so long. The victorious legions, who, in distant wars, acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majesty of the purple. The emperors, anxious for their personal safety and the public peace, were reduced to the base expedient of corrupting the discipline which rendered them alike formidable to their sovereigns and to the enemy: the vigour of the military government was relaxed, and finally dissolved, by the partial institutions of Constantine; and the Roman world was overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians.

The decay of Rome has been frequently ascribed to the translation of the seat of empire; but this history has already shown, that the powers of government were divided, rather than removed. The throne of Constantinople was erected in the East; while the West was still possessed by a series of emperors who held their residence in Italy, and claimed their equal inheritance of the legions and provinces. This dangerous novelty impaired the strength, and fomented the vices of a double reign: the instruments of an oppressive and arbitrary system were multiplied; and a vain emulation of luxury, not of merit, was introduced and supported between the degenerate

successors of Theodorus. Extreme distress, which unites the virtues of a free people, embitters the factions of a declining monarchy. The hostile favourites of Arcadius and Honorius betrayed the republic to its common enemies; and the Byzantine court beheld with indifference, perhaps with pleasure, the disgrace of Rome, the misfortune of Italy, and the loss of the West. Under the succeeding reigns, the alliance of the two empires was restored; but the aid of the oriental Romans was tardy, doubtful, and ineffectual; and the national schism of the Greeks and Latins was enlarged by the perpetual difference of language and manners, of interest, and even of religion. Yet the salutary event approved in some measure the judgment of Constantine. During a long period of decay, his impregnable city repelled the victorious armies of barbarians, protected the wealth of Asia, and commanded, both in peace and war, the important straits which connect the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. The domination of Constantinople more essentially contributed to the preservation of the East, than to the ruin of the West.

As the happiness of a future life is the great object of religion, we may hear without surprise or scandal, that the introduction, or at least the abuse, of Christianity, had some influence on the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The clergy successfully preached the doctrines of patience and pusillanimity; the active virtues of society were discouraged; and the last remains

of military spirit were buried in the cloister; a large portion of public and private wealth was consecrated to the specious demands of charity and devotion; and the soldiers pay was lavished on the useless multitudes of both sexes, who could only plead the merits of abstinence and chastity. Faith, zeal, curiosity, and the more earthly passions of malice and ambition, kindled the flame of theological discord; the church, and even the state, were distracted by religious factions, whose conflicts were sometimes bloody, and always implacable; the attention of the emperors was diverted from camps to synods; the Roman world was oppressed by a new species of tyranny; and the persecuted sects became the secret enemies of their country. Yet party-spirit, however pernicious or absurd, is a principle of union as well as of division. The bishops, from eighteen hundred pulpits, inculcated the duty of passive obedience to a lawful and orthodox sovereign; their frequent assemblies, and perpetual correspondence, maintained the communion of distant churches; and the benevolent temper of the gospel was strengthened, though confined, by the spiritual alliance of the catholics. The sacred indolence of the monks was devoutly embraced by a servile and effeminate age; but if superstition had not afforded a decent retreat, the same vices would have tempted the unworthy Romans to desert, from baser motives, the standard of the republic. Religious precepts are easily obeyed, which indulge and sanctify the natural inclinations

of their votaries; but the pure and genuine influence of Christianity may be traced in its beneficial, though imperfect, effects on the barbarian proselytes of the North. If the decline of the Roman empire was hastened by the conversion of Constantine, his victorious religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors.

This awful revolution may be usefully applied to the instruction of the present age. It is the duty of a patriot to prefer and promote the exclusive interest and glory of his native country; but a philosopher may be permitted to enlarge his views, and to consider Europe as one great republic, whose various inhabitants have attained almost the same level of politeness and cultivation. The balance of power will continue to fluctuate, and the prosperity of our own, or the neighbouring kingdoms, may be alternately exalted or depressed; but these partial events cannot essentially injure our general state of happiness, the system of arts, and laws, and manners, which so advantageously distinguish above the rest of mankind, the Europeans and their colonies. The savage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilized society: and we may inquire with anxious curiosity, whether Europe is still threatened with a repetition of those calamities, which formerly oppressed the arms and institutions of Rome. Perhaps the same reflections will illustrate the fall of that mighty empire, and explain the probable causes of our actual security.

1. The Romans were ignorant of the extent of their danger, and the number of their enemies. Beyond the Rhine and Danube, the northern countries of Europe and Asia were filled with innumerable tribes of hunters and shepherds, poor, voracious, and indolent; bold in arms, and impatient to invade the fruits of industry. The barbarian world was agitated by the rapid impulse of war; and the peace of Gaul or Italy was shaken by the distant revolutions of China. The Huns, who fled before a victorious enemy, directed their murders towards the West; and the torrent was swelled by the gradual accession of captives and allies. The flying tribes who yielded to the Huns, assumed in their turn the spirit of conquest; the endless column of barbarians pressed on the Roman empire with accumulated weight; and, if the Romans were destroyed, the vacant space was instantly replenished by new residents. Such formidable emigrations can no longer issue from the North; and the long repose, which has been ascribed to the decrease of population, is the happy consequence of the progress of arts and agriculture. Instead of some rude villages, thinly scattered among its woods and morasses, Germany now produces a list of two thousand three hundred walled towns; the Christian Kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, have been successively established; and the Hanse merchants, with the Teutonic knights, have extended their colonies along the coast of the Baltic, as far as the gulf of Finland. From

the gulf of Finland to the eastern ocean, Russia now assumes the form of a powerful and inviolable empire. The plough, the loom, and the forge, are introduced on the banks of the Volga, the Oby, and the Lena; and the fiercest of the Tartar hordes have been taught to tremble and obey. The reign of independent barbarism is now contracted to a narrow span; and the remnant of Calmucks or Uzbeks, whose forces may be almost numbered, cannot seriously excite the apprehensions of the great republic of Europe. Yet this apparent security should not tempt us to forget that new enemies, and unknown dangers, may possibly arise from some obscure people, scarcely visible in the map of the world. The Arabs, or Saracens, who spread their conquests from India to Spain, had languished in poverty and contempt, till Mahomet breathed into their savage bodies the soul of enthusiasm.

II. The empire of Rome was firmly established by the singular and perfect coalition of its members. The subject nations, resigning the hope, and even the wish, of independence, cultivated the character of Roman citizens; and the provinces of the West were reluctantly torn by the

\* The French and English editors of the *Chronological History* of the Tartars have imagined a nation, though never met, nor known at their present date. We might question the independence of the Chakchaks, or Chakhs, since they have been possibly conquered by the Chinese, who, in the year 1136, subdued the lower Tartars, and advanced into the country of Badakhshan, near the sources of the Oxus, (Moussier sur les Chakhs, tom. I, p. 387-404). But these conjectures are groundless, nor will I venture to lessen the glory of the Chinese empire.

barbarians from the bosom of their mother country.\* But this union was purchased by the loss of national freedom and military spirit; and the servile provinces, destitute of life and motion, expected their safety from the mercenary troops and governors, who were directed by the orders of a distant court. The happiness of an hundred millions depended on the personal merit of one or two men, perhaps children, whose minds were corrupted by education, luxury, and despotic power. The deepest wounds were inflicted on the empire during the minorities of the sons and grandsons of Theodosius; and after those incapable princes seemed to attain the age of manhood, they abandoned the church to the bishops, the state to the eunuchs, and the provinces to the barbarians. Europe is now divided into twelve powerful, though unequal, kingdoms, three respectable commonwealths, and a variety of smaller, though independent, states: the chances of royal and ministerial talents are multiplied, at least with the number of its rulers; and a Julian, or Semi-ranis, may reign in the North, while Arcadius, and Honorius again slumber on the thrones of the South. The abuses of tyranny are restrained by the mutual influence of fear and shame; republics have acquired order and stability; monarchies have imbibed the principles of freedom.

\* The prudent reader will determine how far this general proposition is supported by the result of the invasion, the independence of Britain and Scotland, the Moslem tribes, or the Haptnahs of Gaul and Spain (vol. ii. p. 347; vol. iii. p. 378, 377, 324.)

or, at least, of moderation: and some sense of honour and justice is introduced into the most defective constitutions, by the general manners of the times. In peace, the progress of knowledge and industry is accelerated by the emulation of so many active rivals: in war, the European forces are exercised by temperate and indecisive contests. If a savage conqueror should issue from the deserts of Tartary, he must repeatedly vanquish the robust peasants of Russia, the numerous armies of Germany, the gallant nobles of France, and the intrepid freemen of Britain: who, perhaps, might confederate for their common defence. Should the victorious barbarians carry slavery and desolation as far as the Atlantic ocean, ten thousand vessels would transport beyond their pursuit the remains of civilized society: and Europe would revive and flourish in the American world, which is already filled with her colonies and institutions.<sup>3</sup>

III. Cold, poverty, and a life of danger and fatigue, fortify the strength and courage of barbarians. In every age they have oppressed the polite and powerful nations of China, India, and Persia, who neglected, and still neglect, to counterbalance these natural powers by the resources of military art. The warlike states of antiquity,

<sup>3</sup> America now contains about six millions of Europeans (black and white), and their numbers, at least in the North, are continually increasing. Whatever may be the changes of their political situation, they must preserve the resources of Europe; and we may expect with some probability, that the English language will probably be diffused over an immense and populous continent.



and supply the decay of military virtue. Cannon and fortifications now form an impregnable barrier against the Tatar horse; and Europe is secure from any future irruption of barbarians; since, before they can conquer, they must cease to be barbarous. Their gradual advances in the science of war would always be accompanied, as we may learn from the example of Russia, with a proportionable improvement in the arts of peace and civil policy; and they themselves must deserve a place among the polished nations whom they subdue.

Should these speculations be found doubtful or fallacious, there still remains a more humble source of comfort and hope. The discoveries of ancient and modern navigators, and the domestic history, or tradition, of the most enlightened nations, represent the *human savage*, naked both in mind and body, and destitute of laws, of arts, of ideas, and almost of language.\* From this abject condition, perhaps the primitive and universal state of man, he has gradually arisen to command the animals, to fertilize the earth, to traverse the ocean, and to measure the

\* It would be an easy, though tedious, task to produce the authorities of poets, philosophers, and historians. I shall therefore content myself with appealing to the decisive and authentic testimony of Theodore de Bèze, (*Gen.* 1, 4, 5, p. 11, 12, 13, 14, p. 164, &c. edit. Woudloep). The Lappish, who in his time wandered along the shores of the Red sea, can only be compared to the natives of New Holland, (*Flammar's Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 344-345). *Poetry*, as perhaps reason, may still suppose an extensive and absolute state of nature far below the level of these savages, who had acquired some art and instruments.

heavens. His progress in the improvement and exercise of his mental and corporeal faculties<sup>1</sup> has been irregular and various; infinitely slow in the beginning, and increasing by degrees with redoubled velocity: ages of laborious ascent have been followed by a moment of rapid descent; and the several climates of the globe have felt the vicissitudes of light and darkness. Yet the experience of four thousand years should enlarge our hopes, and diminish our apprehensions: we cannot determine to what height the human species may aspire in their advances towards perfection; but it may safely be presumed, that no people, unless the face of nature is changed, will relapse into their original barbarism. The improvements of society may be viewed under a threefold aspect. 1. The poet or philosopher illustrates his age and country by the efforts of a *single* mind: but these superior powers of reason or fancy are rare and spontaneous productions, and the genius of Homer, or Cicero, or Newton, would excite less admiration, if they could be created by the will of a prince, or the lessons of a preceptor. 2. The benefits of law and policy, of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences, are more solid and permanent: and many individuals may be qualified, by education and discipline, to promote, in

<sup>1</sup> See the Journal and rational work of the President, *Report, de l'Origine des Lettres des Arts et des Sciences*. He traces from Foss, or Empedocles, from A. p. 137-207, with many the best and most different steps of human deception.

their respective stations, the interest of the community. But this general order is the effect of skill and labour; and the complex machinery may be deranged by time, or injured by violence. S. Fortunately for mankind, the more useful; or, at least, more necessary arts, can be performed without superior talents, or national subordination; without the powers of *one*, or the union of *many*. Each village, each family, each individual, must always possess both ability and inclination, to perpetuate the use of fire<sup>a</sup> and of metals; the propagation and service of domestic animals; the methods of hunting and fishing; the rudiments of navigation; the imperfect cultivation of corn, or other nutritive grain; and the simple practice of the mechanic trades. Private genius and public industry may be extirpated; but these hardy plants survive the tempest, and strike an everlasting root into the most unfavourable soil. The splendid days of Augustus and Trajan were eclipsed by a cloud of ignorance; and the barbarians subverted the laws and palaces of Rome. But the scythe, the invention, or emblem of Saturn,\* still continued annually to mow the harvests of Italy;

<sup>a</sup> It is certain, however strange, that many nations have been ignorant of the use of fire. Even the ingenious natives of Chabotto, who are destitute of nearly every art, derived their warmth from the capability of sustaining the action of fire, and of communicating the heat to the liquids which they require.

\* Plinarch. *Quæst. Rom. in torn. ii. p. 173. Mæne. Fastorum.* l. i. c. 2. p. 124. with Læpion. The festival of Saturn (of his effigy some vestigials in a ship, may indicate, that the ancient coast of Latium was first discovered and civilized by the Phœnicians.

and the human feasts of the *Læstrigons*\* have never been renewed on the coast of Campania.

Since the first discovery of the arts, war, commerce, and religious zeal have diffused, among the savages of the Old and New World, these inestimable gifts: they have been successively propagated; they can never be lost. We may therefore acquiesce in the pleasing conclusion, that every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the human race.<sup>b</sup>

\* In the ninth and tenth books of the *Odyssey*, Homer has established the titles of fearful and credulous sailors, who transformed the cannibals of Italy and Sicily into monstrous giants.

<sup>b</sup> The march of discovery has too often been stained with avarice, cruelty, and fanaticism; and the intercourse of nations has produced the communication of disease and prejudice. A singular exception is due to the virtue of our own times and country. The two great voyages, successively undertaken by the command of his present majesty, were inspired by the pure and generous love of science and of mankind. The same prince, adapting his benevolence to the different stages of society, has founded a school of painting in his capital; and has introduced into the islands of the South Sea, the vegetable, and animals most useful to human life.

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END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME





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N. C.

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